

# GERARD OF NAZARETH A NEGLECTED TWELFTH-CENTURY WRITER IN THE LATIN EAST

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTELLECTUAL AND MONASTIC HISTORY OF THE CRUSADER STATES\*

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Few factual narratives were written in Crusader Outremer during its first sixty years. They include one full-length chronicle, that of Fulcher of Chartres—later of Jerusalem—which starts with the First Crusade and describes the history of the Crusading Kingdom down to 1127. Three shorter narratives survive as well: the *Gesta Tancredi* by Raoul of Caen—later of Antioch—which stops abruptly with the siege of Apamea in 1105; the *Bella Antiochena* by Chancellor Walter of Antioch, covering the years 1114–1122; and a brief anonymous compilation, written in Jerusalem in 1145–1146 under the auspices of King Baldwin III, which merely recapitulates earlier chronicles and concludes with the year 1123.<sup>1</sup> However, no firsthand account survives for the period between 1127—the year with which Fulcher's chronicle stops—and 1165, when William of Tyre's *Historia* starts to reflect personal observations. It is therefore of some import to draw attention to remnants of narratives written in the Crusader East in the mid-twelfth century; that is, precisely during the span of time no longer cov-

ered by Fulcher and not yet witnessed by William. These remnants focus on Latin eremitism in the early days of Outremer, a subject about which very little is known. The author of these works, Gerard of Nazareth—bishop of Laodicea by 1140—also wrote two polemics and a sermon and ought to be considered a major literary figure of the Latin East of his day. He definitely overshadows, by versatility and output, his contemporaries Stephen of Antioch, who in 1127 rendered into Latin the *Kitāb al-Malikī* by the tenth-century medical writer 'Alī b. al-ʿAbbās and hoped to translate some philosophical works as well; Prior Achard of the Temple in Jerusalem, who wrote the poem *Super templo Domini* some time before his death in 1137 or 1138; Achard's successor Geoffrey, who continued that work; Rorgo Fretellus of Nazareth, who left a description of the Holy Land; and Archdeacon Almerich of Antioch, who translated parts of the Old Testament into Castilian and added to them some historico-geographical details.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, modern historians of the crusades have not yet uti-

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<sup>1</sup>Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); Raoul of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* (hereafter cited as RHC HOcc), III (Paris, 1856), 603–716; Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896); *Baldwin III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*, in RHC HOcc, V (Paris, 1895), 139–85.

<sup>2</sup>C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 131–35 (Stephen of Antioch); P. Lehmann, "Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus," in *Corona quemea. Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, MGH Schr, VI (Leipzig, 1941), 296–330; P. C. Boeren, ed., *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte. Histoire et édition du texte*, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Verhandelingen Nieuwe Reeks, deel CV (Amsterdam, 1980); Almerich, *Fazienda de Ultra Mar. Biblia Romanceada et Itinéraire Biblique en prose castillane du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. M. Lazar (Salamanca, 1965).

lized the extant remnants of Gerard's narratives and polemics, and have virtually ignored his literary activity.

The titles of Gerard's works are:

1. *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantium, ad Guillelmum presbyterum*, or: *De conversatione servorum Dei*. (This was a considerable work, with at least 39 chapters.)
2. *Vita abbatis Elie*.
3. *De una Magdalena contra Grecos*.
4. *Contra Salam presbyterum* (or: *Contra Salam Templarium*).
5. *Ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam*.

These tracts have presumably been lost, but a passage of *De conversatione* and extensive summa-

ries of the first four tracts are extant because of the interest shown by Carmelite writers of the late Middle Ages and by the Magdeburg Centuriators of the mid-sixteenth century. Under these circumstances, gauging the reliability of the Carmelite and Magdeburgian transmitters must precede discussion of the tracts' contents.

## I

Philip Ribot, master of theology and Carmelite Provincial of Catalonia, quotes the following passage while expounding the nature of anchoritism in his *De institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum* of 1370:

*Gerardus<sup>a</sup> episcopus Laodicensis<sup>b</sup> in libro de conuersacione uirorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantium<sup>c</sup> ad Guillelmum<sup>d</sup> presbiterum:*

Aliud est genus religiosorum qui sigillatim<sup>e</sup> habitant a seculi rebus alieni<sup>f</sup> quod laudabile semper<sup>g</sup> fuit. Hii<sup>h</sup> sunt qui<sup>i</sup> ad exemplum Helye<sup>j</sup> silencium solitudinis preferunt tumultibus ciuitatis. Amant enim secretam contemplacionem deitatis.<sup>k</sup> Unde et<sup>l</sup> David a seculi molestiis<sup>m</sup> in solitudinem fugiens elongabat.<sup>n</sup> *In terra*, inquit, *deserta, inuia et inaquosa, sic in sancto apparui tibi ut uiderem uirtutem tuam et gloriam tuam<sup>o</sup>* [Ps. 62:3]. Hanc quippe<sup>p</sup> gloriam Moyses in deserto, hanc tandem Helyas<sup>q</sup> in solitudine quesierunt uidere. Hinc et<sup>r</sup> Salvator in monte seorsum<sup>s</sup> a turbis inter Moysem<sup>t</sup> et Helyam<sup>u</sup> gloriosus<sup>v</sup> effulsit.<sup>3</sup>

R - Rome, Archivio Generale dei Carmelitani, Collegio Sant'Alberto, MS II.C.O.II. 35 (sec. XV), fol. 196<sup>r</sup>.

T - Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 155<sup>89</sup>/1237 (sec. XV), fol. 253<sup>v</sup>-254<sup>r</sup>.

M - Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 471 (a.1485), fol. 110<sup>r</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Gerhardus TM <sup>b</sup> Leo dicus T <sup>c</sup> commorantium M <sup>d</sup> Guillelmum T Guilhelum M <sup>e</sup> sigillatim R singillatim M <sup>f</sup> alieni om. M <sup>g</sup> semper laudabile M <sup>h</sup> Hi M <sup>i</sup> qui om. TM <sup>j</sup> Helie TM <sup>k</sup> diuinitatis T <sup>l</sup> et om. T <sup>m</sup> molestis R molestiis seculi M <sup>n</sup> fugiens se a tumultibus populi elongabat M <sup>o</sup> apparui tibi etc. Ps. 62<sup>o</sup> M <sup>p</sup> enim M <sup>q</sup> in deserto et Helias M <sup>r</sup> et om. M <sup>s</sup> sursum M <sup>t</sup> Moysen T <sup>u</sup> Heliam M <sup>v</sup> effulsit R

Is this passage genuine? Ribot's compilation contains undoubtedly spurious works, like the *Institutio primorum monachorum*, which claim to prove the antiquity of monasticism on Mount Carmel.<sup>4</sup> However, the passage from Gerard's *De conversatione*, which appears in a general discourse on the nature of anchoritism, is not presented as referring to the Carmelites, is not commented upon by Ribot, and does not contain anything tendentious or otherwise suspect. Immediately after, Ribot quotes similar passages on anchoritism from the works of Cassian and Isidore of Seville. A comparison of these quotations with their critically edited counterparts provides a yardstick to measure Ribot's fidelity to his sources:

*Johannis Cassiani Conlationes*, XVIII.6, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL, 13 (Vienna, 1886), 511-12.

Ribot, *De institutione*, III.8

R - fol. 196<sup>r</sup>-196<sup>v</sup>

T - fol. 254<sup>r</sup>

M - fol. 110<sup>v</sup>

Cassianus in libro collacionum  
patrum<sup>a</sup> capitulo sexto collacionis

<sup>3</sup>The passage as edited above differs but slightly from the versions printed in *Speculum ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum* (Venice, 1507), 14b-15a and in the more readily accessible *Speculum Carmelitarum*, ed. Daniel a Virgine Maria, I (Antwerp, 1680), 36b, no. 131. I was not able to consult MSS Arsenal 779 (sec. XIV), Clermont-Ferrand 156 (sec. XIV), Semur 28 (sec. XV), and London, Lambeth 192, which—according to François de

Sainte-Marie, *Les plus vieux textes du Carmel* (2nd ed., Paris, 1961), 184, note 2—also contain Ribot's work.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. C. Cicconetti, *La regola del Carmelo. Origine - natura - significato* (Rome, 1973), 33-35, 96-97, 184, 214, 466, et passim; J. Smet, *The Carmelites. A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel* (Rome, 1975), 64.

De hoc perfectorum numero et  
ut ita dixerim fecundissima radice  
sanctorum etiam anachoretarum post haec  
flores fructusque prolati sunt. cuius  
professionis principes hos quos paulo  
ante commemorauimus, sanctum scilicet  
Paulum uel Antonium, nouimus extitisse:  
qui non ut quidam pusillanimitatis  
causa nec inpatientiae morbo, sed  
desiderio sublimioris profectus  
contemplationisque diuinae solitudinis  
secreta sectati sunt, licet eorum prior  
necessitatis obtentu, dum tempore  
persecutionis adfinium suorum deuitat  
insidias, heremum penetrasse dicatur.  
Ita ergo processit ex illa qua diximus  
disciplina aliud perfectionis  
genus, cuius sectatores anachoretæ id est  
secessores merito nuncupantur, eo quod  
nequaquam contenti hac victoria, qua  
inter homines occultas insidias diaboli  
calcauerunt, aperto certamine ac  
manifesto conflictu daemonibus congredi  
cupientes uastos heremi recessus  
penetrare non timeant. . . .

decime octauæ.<sup>b</sup>

De perfectorum *cenobitarum* uero et<sup>c</sup>  
ut ita dixerim fecundissima<sup>d</sup> radice  
sanctorum etiam anachoritarum post hec  
flores fructusque prolati sunt. Cuius  
professionis principes

sanctum scilicet

Paulum uel Antonium<sup>e</sup> nouimus extitisse.  
Qui

desiderio sublimioris profectus  
contemplacionisque diuine solitudinis  
secreta sectati sunt.

Ita ergo processit<sup>f</sup> ex illa qua diximus  
disciplina<sup>g</sup> *cenobitarum* aliud perfectionis  
genus, cuius sectatores anachorite id est  
secessores<sup>h</sup> merito nuncupantur, eo quod  
nequaquam contenti hac victoria,<sup>i</sup> qua  
inter homines occultas insidias dyabolij  
calcauerunt, *sed* aperto<sup>k</sup> certamine ac  
manifesto conflictu demonibus<sup>l</sup> congredi  
cupientes uastos heremi *secessus*<sup>m</sup>  
penetrare non timeant. . . .

<sup>a</sup> fratrum T <sup>b</sup> collacione decima octaua  
capitulo sexto M ca<sup>o</sup> VIII<sup>o</sup> collacionis  
XVIII R <sup>c</sup> et *om.* M <sup>d</sup> dixerint  
secundissima R <sup>e</sup> scl. sanctum Paulum et  
Anthonium M <sup>f</sup> ita ergo procedit T  
itaque processit M <sup>g</sup> disciplina R  
<sup>h</sup> secessores R <sup>i</sup> ac victoria R  
<sup>j</sup> diaboli R <sup>k</sup> apperto T <sup>l</sup> a demonibus R  
<sup>m</sup> recessus T

Here, as well as in the passages quoted from Isidore of Seville's works,<sup>5</sup> Ribot occasionally skips a subordinate clause and apparently takes some liberty with the wording; but basically he copies his source faithfully. It is plausible to assume that his quotation from *De conversatione* transmits fairly accurately Gerard's original formulation as well.

Three other Carmelite authors—the German John of Hildesheim (d. 1375), the Catalan Bernard Oller (fl. 1378), and the Englishman Thomas Scrope (d. 1491)—also quote the first sentence of the above-mentioned passage of Gerard's *De conversatione*. John and Bernard regard the sentence as referring to Palestinian anchorites who preceded the Carmelites; Thomas considers it as describing the Carmelites themselves:

John of Hildesheim, *Dialogus  
inter directorem et detractorem  
de ordine Carmelitarum*

Bernard Oller, *Informatio  
circa originem, intitulationem  
et confirmationem Ordinis  
Fratrum Beatae Virginis  
Mariae de Monte Carmeli*

Thomas Scrope, alias Bradley,  
*Chronicon*

Praeterea scribit Gerardus  
Laodiceae Episcopus in libro

Item Girardus  
episcopus Laodicie in libro

Gerardus quoque  
Episcopus Laodiceae in libro

<sup>5</sup> *Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, VII.13, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911); *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II.16,

PL, 83, cols. 794–95. Ribot's quotations from these works appear in his *De institutione*, III.8, 15a.

de conversatione virorum Dei  
in Terra Sancta degentium, ad  
Guilielmum presbyterum: quod

*Aliud est genus Religiosorum qui  
singulatim habitant, a saeculi rebus  
alieni: hi sunt qui ad exemplum  
Eliae*

*silentium solitudinis praeferebant  
tumultibus civitatis, haec ille.*

Cum igitur ex Regula Carmelitae

obligentur ad silentium, et ad vitam  
Eremiticam, praesertim usque ad

Regulae mitigationem, patet  
evidenter,

quod fuerint successores  
praedictorum,  
se conformiter habentes ad ipsos.<sup>6</sup>

de conversatione virorum Dei  
in Terra Sancta, ad  
Guilielmum praesbyterum,  
loquens

de diversis religiosis, subiungit  
dicens:

*Aliud est genus Religiosorum qui  
singillatim habitabant a saeculi rebus  
alieni. Hii sunt qui ad exemplum  
Helyae*

*silentium solitudinis praeferebant  
tumultibus civitatis: haec ille.*

Quod autem oporteat haec verba  
intelligi

de praedecessoribus praedictorum  
fratrum videtur patere ex eorum  
regula,

per quam obligantur ad silentium,

et ad singillatim habitandum per

cellas separatas.<sup>7</sup>

de conversatione virorum Dei  
in Terra Sancta, ad  
Guilielmum presbyterum de  
Carmelitis in

Terra Sancta degentibus  
loquens scribit:

*Aliud est genus Religiosorum qui  
sigillatim habitabant a saeculi rebus  
alieni: hi sunt, qui ad exemplum Prophe-  
tae Eliae*

*silentium solitudinis praeferebant  
tumultibus civitatis. Haec ille.*

Quod autem ista intelligenda sint

de Carmelitis  
patet ex eorum Regula

per quam obligantur ad silentium,

et ad sigillatim habitandum per

cellas separatas.<sup>8</sup>

Though the exact relationship among these Carmelite works remains to be established, there is reason to believe that neither John of Hildesheim nor Bernard Oller were aware of Philip Ribot's *De institutione*, for John and Ribot wrote their tracts at about the same time and Bernard, though a leading Catalan Carmelite like Ribot himself, does not mention Ribot's work.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Scrope, on the other hand, translated Ribot's treatise into English,<sup>10</sup> but while writing the above passage he undoubtedly used Bernard. In his turn, Bernard may have used the tract of John.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, unless we postulate a no longer extant extract from Gerard's *De conversatione* which served Philip Ribot, or John of Hildesheim, or both, we may assume that at least two manuscripts of Gerard's work were extant in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and that they were independently used by at least two Carmelites, the one a Catalan, the other a German.

Gerard's work surfaces once more, and with many a detail, in the volume, published in Basel in 1569, which Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his fellow Centuriators of Magdeburg devoted to the twelfth century.<sup>12</sup> The volume contains a short biographical notice about *Gerardus a Nazareth*, later bishop of Laodicea; a list which specifies the names of five of his tracts and mentions that he wrote several others; and, most importantly, large number of summaries of, and references to, Gerard's writings,

<sup>6</sup> *Speculum* of 1680 (note 3 *supra*), 152a, no. 671.

<sup>7</sup> *Speculum* of 1507 (note 3 *supra*), 54b; see also *Speculum* of 1680, 168a, no. 742.

<sup>8</sup> *Speculum* of 1680, 175a, no. 768.

<sup>9</sup> R. Hendricks, "La succession héréditaire (1280–1451)," *Études carmélitaines*, 35 (1956), 59–62, 69–70.

<sup>10</sup> The translation survives in MS Lamb. 192 f.: J. Tait, "Scrope, Thomas," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII (London, 1937–38), 1086.

<sup>11</sup> Hendriks, "La succession," 69–70.

<sup>12</sup> Matthias Flacius Illyricus et al., *Duodecima Centuria*, vol. VI of *Ecclesiasticae historiae, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam . . . secundum singulas centurias perspicuo ordine complectens*, 7 vols. (Basel, 1562–1574) (hereafter *Centuria XII*).

which are dispersed throughout the volume.<sup>13</sup> In the biographical note, Gerard is presented as *Carmelitanae sectae eremita*: apparently the Centuriators found Gerard's works in a Carmelite manuscript, whose copyist went one step beyond Scrope's assertion that Gerard referred to the early Carmelites, and made Gerard himself a member of that order. The manuscript used by the Centuriators seems to have differed from those that had been at the disposal of Philip Ribot and John of Hildesheim, for the Centuriators give the title of Gerard's work on the hermits of Palestine and Syria as *De conversatione servorum Dei*. Thus it appears that in Protestant Germany of the 1560s there existed a manu-

<sup>13</sup> The biographical notice, the list of Gerard's works, and the summaries prepared by the Centuriators, appear in the Appendix to this article. The summaries of the passages from Gerard's *De conversatione* have been reordered according to the original sequence of the chapters of that work. Summaries of passages from Gerard's other works have also been grouped together. Specific references to the Appendix will therefore be dispensed with henceforward.



script of Gerard's works which was not one of those used by the fourteenth-century Carmelites.

How reliable are the Centuriators' summaries of the writings of Gerard? As is well known, Flacius and his collaborators were *compilateurs engagés* who endeavored to forge a weapon for Lutheranism's arsenal. But, as Pontien Polman, a twentieth-century Franciscan historian, put it, "the polemical intention of the authors is often relegated to the second place, and one comes upon the feverish eagerness of erudites who wish to make their discoveries known at all cost. The least detail finds a place somewhere in this immense depository of quotations and summaries; nothing is lost, and one encounters numerous documents which hardly serve the polemics."<sup>14</sup> (The laconic remark appended to

a biographical sketch of the Antiochene patriarch Ralph of Domfront, which specifies that he died *circa annum 1142, ut Gerardus a Nazareth annotat*,<sup>15</sup> is a case in point). The Centuriators had their priorities. In the *Consultatio de conscribenda accurata historia ecclesiae* of 1554, in which Flacius outlined the features of what were to become the *Centuriae*, he called for a major emphasis on matters of doctrine and for brief biographical sketches, and these guidelines were largely followed.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, Gerard's tract on the identity of Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany is recapitulated in great detail, whereas the lives of the Latin hermits of Outremer appear to have been reduced to essentials; they are also colored by the Centuriators' animosity toward monasticism.

Comparisons between other extant texts and their summaries indicate that, as a rule, the Centuriators severely abridged narratives but generally rendered their contents with accuracy. Narratives transmitted without abridgement were either freely paraphrased or almost verbatim transcribed, as the Centuriators' renditions of the following two passages from Book XVIII of William of Tyre's *Historia* illustrate:

William of Tyre

Rainaldus de Castellione . . . [patriarcham Antiochenum] . . .  
nudo capite, et melle delibuto,  
per diem aestivum in  
sole ferventissimo compulit sedere,

nemine contra solis importunitatem  
praebente remedium, vel gratia  
pietatis muscas abigente.<sup>17</sup>

Sepulta est autem . . . domina Milissendis  
. . . in crypta lapidea . . .  
altare habens vicinum, ubi, tam  
pro remedio animae ejus, quam pro  
spiritibus omnium fidelium defunctorum,  
acceptabiles quotidie creatori  
offeruntur hostiae.<sup>19</sup>

Centuria XII

Rainaldus . . .

cum prius calvicie eius *melle* peruncta,  
aestivo tempore *per integrum diem*  
*sole ferventissimo* existente, sub dio  
eum *sedere* coegisset,  
*nemine* vel *contra aestum*  
*vel muscarum molestias* quicquam  
subsidiū praestante.<sup>18</sup>

Sepulchrum Melesendis  
reginae Hierosolymorum  
*vicinum habuit altare, ubi tam*  
*pro remedio animae ejus, quam pro*  
*spiritibus omnium fidelium defunctorum,*  
*acceptabiles creatori quotidie*  
*offeruntur hostiae*.<sup>20</sup>

Possibly the second passage was quoted almost verbatim because it describes ecclesiastical practice; again, it is possible that the scholars who worked on the *Centuriae* under Flacius' direction differed in their habits of recapitulation. In any case, we may assume that the Centuriators' recapitulations of Gerard's works, too, contain some actual quotations, and that the summaries are, on the whole, reliable. Indeed, but for the one mistaken reference to Gerard as a Carmelite, there is nothing erroneous about those statements in the summaries which can be independently checked, nor is there anything improbable about the many facts which appear there for the first time.

<sup>14</sup> P. Polman, "Flacius Illyricus, historien de l'Église," *RHE*, 27 (1931), 62. See also the appraisal by W. Nigg, *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. Grundsätze ihrer historischen Entwicklung* (Münich, 1934), 48–65.

<sup>15</sup> *Centuria* XII, chap. 10, col. 1373. The preceding biographical sketch summarizes the relevant notices in William of Tyre's chronicle which do not specify the date of Ralph's death.

<sup>16</sup> The *consultatio* was edited by K. Schottenloher, *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der evange-*

*lischen Publizistik*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 50/51 (Münster, 1927), 147–57, with the pertinent passage appearing on p. 149.

<sup>17</sup> William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in RHC HOcc, I (Paris, 1844), XVIII.1 (hereafter cited as WT, followed by book and chapter).

<sup>18</sup> *Centuria* XII, chap. 3, col. 51.

<sup>19</sup> WT, XVIII.32.

<sup>20</sup> *Centuria* XII, chap. 6, col. 889.

In 1574, five years after the publication of the Twelfth *Centuria* in Basel, the Swiss Protestant theologian Josias Simmler included in his enlarged edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* an entry on Gerard which is strikingly similar to the biographical notice printed by the Centuriators. However, Simmler did not present Gerard as a Carmelite; he noted instead that Gerard was a hermit in the Black Mountain near Antioch; he indicated—like the Carmelite writers but unlike the Centuriators—that *De conversatione* was written *ad Guillelmum presbyterum*; and he gave *Contra Salam templarium* as the title of Gerard's fifth tract, not *Contra Salam presbyterum* as the Centuriators had done.<sup>21</sup> A careful reading of the summaries printed in the Twelfth *Centuria* might have driven Simmler to the conclusion that Gerard spent some time in the Black Mountain and was no Carmelite, but the other divergences indicate that he must also have had access to some other source. Indeed, one ought not exclude the possibility that Simmler consulted a manuscript containing Gerard's works—either the manuscript used by the Centuriators, or a different one. At any rate, with two manuscripts of Gerard's work presumably extant in the later fourteenth century, and with another one (and possibly even two) surviving into the sixteenth century, there is a fair chance that the full texts may still be discovered.<sup>22</sup>

In his *Chronographia* of 1580, the French Catholic exegete Gilbert Générard presents Gerard, under the year 1144, as the author of *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*, as well as of other, unspecified tracts; though the name of John of Salisbury appears rather startlingly at the entry's end, Générard probably relied on Simmler or the Centuriators. However, for later bibliographers Simmler was undoubtedly the only source, whether

directly or indirectly. Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit, copied Simmler almost verbatim—though without acknowledgment—into his *Apparatus sacer* of 1606, omitting only the tract *Contra Salam*; Gerhard Johann Vossius relied on Simmler and Possevino in his *De historicis Latinis libri tres* of 1627; so did William Cave (d. 1713) in his *Historia literaria*, while Jacques Le Long (d. 1721) referred only to Possevino while listing Gerard's tract on Mary Magdalene in his *Bibliotheca sacra*.<sup>23</sup> None of these bibliographers exhibited any special interest in Gerard, and so it fell to Du Cange (d. 1688) to identify him—in a work published only in 1869—with the bishop Gerard of Laodicea mentioned by William of Tyre. Du Cange also surmised that he might have been the Cistercian Girard, referred to by Bernard of Clairvaux, who became a bishop in the Latin East.<sup>24</sup> However, Du Cange, too, knew about Gerard of Nazareth and his works only through some entries of the bibliographers. Thus, the direct impact of the Centuriators' summaries was limited indeed.

The passage embedded in Carmelite literature fared somewhat better. Aubert Le Mire (d. 1640) listed Gerard's *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta commorantium* among tracts on Carmelite origins; the way he quotes the title reveals that he came across Gerard's work in some Carmelite tract. (Le Mire's *Auctarium*, which contains this reference to Gerard, was posthumously published in 1649, and reprinted in 1718 by Johann Albert Fabricius. In his own *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Fabricius gives the long-form title of *De conversatione* as quoted in the *Auctarium*, then goes on to quote the titles of Gerard's four other tracts as given by Simmler.)<sup>25</sup> And Cosma de Villiers, in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* of 1752, quotes the short extract from *De conversatione* as transcribed by John of Hildesheim, Bernard Oller, and Thomas Scrope, and uses Simmler's entry as well, thus drawing together for the first—and virtually the only—time the Carmelite and, at one remove, the Centuriator

<sup>21</sup> "Gerardus a Nazareth, patria Galilaeus, apud Nazareth primum, deinde in Montana Nigra prope Antiochiam Eremita, episcopus tandem Laodicensis, Graece & Latine doctus, scripsit ad Guillelmum presbyterum, De conversatione servorum Dei, lib. 1. Vitam Abbatis Heliae, lib. 1. De una Magdalena contra Graecos lib. 1. Ad ancillas Dei in Bethania, lib. 1. Contra Salam templarium, lib. 1. Atque alia. Claruit anno Domini 1140." *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero, deinde in Epitomen redacta . . . per Iosiam Simlerum* (Zurich, 1574), 237b. Same entry in the enlarged edition by J. J. Frisius (Zurich, 1583), 281b.

<sup>22</sup> However, a search in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel, which holds a substantial part of Flacius' library, has produced negative results. (Letter of March 17, 1982, by Dr. Wolfgang Milde, director of the MS collection of the Wolfenbüttel library, to the author). A scrutiny of the *Centuriae* for recapitulations of other medieval texts no longer extant in their entirety remains to be undertaken.

<sup>23</sup> G. Genebrardus, *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (Paris, 1580), 362; A. Possevinus, *Apparatus sacer*, I (Venice, 1606), 543; G. I. Vossius, *De historicis latinis libri tres* (Leiden, 1627), 712–13; W. Cave, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia*, II (Oxford, 1743), col. 219 (Cave remarks: An edita sunt opuscula ista, libenter ab aliis edoceri vellem); J. Le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra* (Paris, 1723), 742a.

<sup>24</sup> *Les Familles d'Outre Mer de Du Cange*, ed. E. G. Rey (Paris, 1869), 797. In his letter (Ep. 288, in PL, 182, col. 494C), Bernard mentions Girard as having been *nunc* made a bishop; since the letter dates in 1153 and since our Gerard was bishop of Laodicea by 1140, Bernard must have referred to another prelate.

<sup>25</sup> *Auberti Miraei Auctarium*, no. 486, in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Hamburg, 1718), 90; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, III (Padua, 1754), 43.

transmission. Independently of Du Cange, de Villiers also identified Gerard of Nazareth with William of Tyre's bishop Gerard of Laodicea.<sup>26</sup>

The one modern writer to use, albeit partially, the copious summaries of the Centuriators was the French savant and politician Pierre Pastoret, who dedicated a short article to Gerard in the thirteenth volume of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, originally published in 1814. Repeatedly referring to the Twelfth *Centuria*, Pastoret related two stories from *De conversatione* and recapitulated the main points of *De una Magdalena* and *Contra Salam*; he also relied on the Centuriators' biographical entry and on William of Tyre to sketch Gerard's life. He did not know however the passage from Gerard transmitted in the Carmelite texts and, following the Centuriators, believed him to have been a Carmelite. Beside, being unaware of Simmler and his crucial mediation, he treated the Twelfth *Centuria*, Cave, Le Long, and Fabricius as if they had been of equal value.<sup>27</sup> Surprisingly enough, Pastoret's readily available information had a very meager impact on crusading historiography. Relying on Pastoret's article, Hans Prutz mentioned in his *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* of 1883 that Bishop Gerard of Laodicea wrote a book, *De conversatione*, an *Epistola ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam*, and a *Vita abbatis Eliae*, and went on to remark that the content and the character of these works remain unknown; apparently Prutz gave no more than a cursory glance to Pastoret's article, and undoubtedly did not follow Pastoret's reference to the Twelfth *Centuria*. Another leading nineteenth-century historian of the crusades, Reinhold Röhricht, lists Gerard in his *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae* of 1890 as the author of *De conversatione* and of *Epistolae ad ancillas Dei in Bethania*, and gives de Villiers and Pastoret as his references, ultimately pointing thereby to both the Carmelites and the Centuriators.<sup>28</sup> But neither Röhricht himself in his *Ge-*

*schichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* of 1898, nor any other subsequent historian of the crusades, followed these leads.<sup>29</sup>

## II

In their biographical sketch, the Centuriators present Gerard as *patria Galilaeus*, but there is no way to tell whether they are paraphrasing an explicit statement in Gerard's tracts, whether they are advancing a deduction based on their own reading of these works, or whether—as they probably do in asserting that Gerard was a Carmelite hermit—they are copying some intermediate source. In any case, the recapitulations of the early chapters of Gerard's *De conversatione*, which deal with a number of Palestinian hermits, disclose that Gerard did live for some time in Galilee. A small cell near Nazareth which was Gerard's abode, is mentioned in chapter two; a monk known to Gerard who lived in reclusion on the northern slope of Mount Tabor appears in chapter three; an illiterate ascete of Nazareth, to whom Gerard tried in vain to teach the alphabet and some Psalms, is portrayed in chapter six. And the summary of the *Vita Eliae* includes the notice that Gaufredus, who flourished about 1140 on Mount Tabor, and was intimate with Abbot Elias of Palmaria, brought about a friendly relationship between Gerard and Elias. (This Gaufredus is probably identical with Abbot Gaufridus of Mount Tabor who appears in a charter of 1139.)<sup>30</sup>

The later chapters of *De conversatione*, which deal with the hermits of the Black Mountain near Antioch, are also based to some extent on personal recollections, since Gerard mentions that he lived in a monastic community on the Mountain. At an unspecified date he became bishop of Laodicea in the patriarchate of Antioch—a town with a considerable Greek population which at the turn of the twelfth century had been for a short while under Byzantine rule<sup>30a</sup>—and in this capacity he wrote the tractates *De una Magdalena contra Graecos* and *Contra Salam*.

<sup>26</sup> C. de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* (Orléans, 1752; repr. with supplement, Rome, 1927), I, 554–55; II, 913. De Villiers knew also the entries by Frisius, Possevin, Vossius, Le Mire, Cave, and Le Long.

<sup>27</sup> P. Pastoret, "Gérard de Nazareth, évêque de Laodicée, en Syrie," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1859), 300–1. A reference to *De una Magdalena*, also based on *Centuria* XII, appeared already in *Histoire littéraire*, IX, 162; this reference, too, was known to de Villiers.

<sup>28</sup> H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), 453; R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae* (Berlin, 1890; repr. with supplements, Jerusalem, 1963), 37, no. 89. There is also a brief entry on Gerard, referring to Cave, Fabricius, Le Long, Pastoret, Röhricht, and de Villiers, in U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie*, I (Paris, 1905), col. 1737.

<sup>29</sup> Among modern Carmelite authors, only Joachim Smet briefly mentions "a number of anecdotes about hermits on Mt. Tabor, narrated by Gerard of Nazareth" and preserved in the work of Flacius: Smet, *The Carmelites*, 5.

<sup>30</sup> R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893–1904) (hereafter cited as *RRH*), no. 191.

<sup>30a</sup> For an attempt at establishing the chronology of the Byzantine rule in Laodicea, see R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Studien zur Politik des byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum vierten Kreuzzug (1096–1204)* (Munich, 1981), 252–74.

A Bishop Gerard of Laodicea appears repeatedly in twelfth-century sources; indeed, he is the only twelfth-century Latin bishop of that city whose name has come down.<sup>31</sup> William of Tyre relates that Bishop Gerard of Laodicea attended the legatine council convened to examine the charges against Patriarch Ralph of Antioch and that, together with Archbishop Stephen of Tarsus and Bishop Hugh of Jabala, he adopted a hostile stance toward the patriarch, who was subsequently deposed.<sup>32</sup> (Bernard Hamilton has recently shown that the council in question probably took place in 1140;<sup>33</sup> it has been seen above that Gerard of Nazareth notes that Ralph of Antioch died in about 1142.) A charter drawn up at Laodicea in 1151 discloses that *Geraldus Laodicensis episcopus* had played a role in the restitution of a tract of land to its lawful owners and subsequently witnessed the act by which the owners donated the land to the Knights Hospitaller.<sup>34</sup> When in 1159 the Byzantine Emperor Manuel advanced on Antioch to punish its adventurous ruler, Rainald of Châtillon, for his brutal raid on Byzantine Cyprus, and Rainald hastened to Cilicia to appease him by a spectacular act of self-humiliation, he took along "the Lord Girardus, venerable bishop of Laodicea." So reports William of Tyre.<sup>35</sup> The anonymous Old French translator of William's *Historia* ascribes however a much more central role to Gerard (whom he presents as *l'arcevesque Giraut de la Lische*). It is he who urges Rainald to hasten toward the emperor and humbly ask for his mercy, arguing that such an act would satisfy the Greeks, "who are vainglorious and seek nothing but outward honor." Rainald decides to embark upon this dangerous course, and takes Gerard with him. Then Gerard, acting on his own, goes to the emperor, mellows his wrath with *deboneres paroles*, and induces him to make peace with Rainald, on condition that the latter perform a public act of penance.<sup>36</sup> In the same year—1159—

Gerard appears as witness to a charter of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. In 1160 he attests to another charter of the queen and on 31 July 1161, in his final appearance in the sources, he witnesses in Nazareth a deed of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup>

Is this Bishop Gerard of Laodicea of the twelfth-century sources identical with Gerard of Nazareth, later bishop of Laodicea, known through the writings of the Carmelites and Centuriators? We have already seen that Du Cange, de Villiers, and Pastoret did so believe; but it should be noted that the Centuriators were of a different opinion. Listing the bishops of Laodicea, they first present Gerard of Nazareth and then, on William of Tyre's authority, the bishop *Geraldus* who accompanied the prince of Antioch to his meeting with Emperor Manuel.<sup>38</sup> Possibly the Centuriators found some detail in the writings of Gerard of Nazareth which made them think that he could not have been bishop of Laodicea at the time of Manuel's advance on Antioch. More likely, the distinction between the two bishops is a mere editorial slip on the part of the Centuriators, caused perhaps by divergent forms of the bishop's name they found in their documentation. In any case, nothing in the summaries printed by the Centuriators argues against the identity of Gerard of Nazareth with the bishop of Laodicea of the twelfth-century sources. Quite on the contrary, the report of the Old French translator about Gerard's penetrating observation on Byzantine mentality and about his effective intervention with Emperor Manuel, ties in quite neatly with the claim in the biographical notice of the Centuriators that Gerard of Nazareth knew Greek well, and also conforms with his authorship of *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*. Moreover, the puzzling presence of Bishop Gerard of Laodicea in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1159, 1160, and 1161, attested to by the charters of Melisende and Baldwin III, may be explained by the remark of the Centuriators that, in his *Contra Salam*, Gerard of Nazareth attacked his adversary for having, *inter*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. R. Röhrich, "Syria sacra," *ZDPV*, 10 (1887), 27.

<sup>32</sup> WT XV.16.

<sup>33</sup> B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), 370–72.

<sup>34</sup> *RRH*, no. 263. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem* (hereafter *Delaville, Cartulaire*), I (Paris, 1894), 153–54, no. 198.

<sup>35</sup> WT VIII.23.

<sup>36</sup> *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs. Texte français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. P. Paris, II (Paris, 1880), 232; a somewhat different version is printed in *RHC HOCC* I, 860. Cf. R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II (Paris, 1935), 402; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II (Cambridge, 1952), 352. For another Latin remark on Byzantine flattery, see Odo of Deuil, *De professione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. Berry (New York, 1948), 26. The new details supplied by the Old French translator support J. Prawer's belief that the translation is a source

of factual information ("Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *RBPhH*, 29 [1951], 1063–1118, repr. in his *Crusader Institutions* [Oxford, 1980], 102–42, esp. 110) and necessitate at least a partial revision of M. R. Morgan's contrary opinion (*The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* [Oxford, 1973], 185–87).

<sup>37</sup> *RRH*, nos. 338, 359, 366.

<sup>38</sup> *Centuria* XII, chap. 10, col. 1380 (where the name of the prince of Antioch is erroneously given as Raymond). However, in their recapitulation of William of Tyre's account about the legatine council which deposed Ralph of Domfront, the Centuriators mention the presence of Bishop *Gerardus* of Laodicea: *Centuria* XII, chap. 9, col. 1302.

*alia*, introduced into Laodicea a Greek bishop against the Latin one. The contemporary Byzantine chronicler Cinnamus reports that, when the emperor Manuel finally accepted the penitent Rainald of Châtillon into his grace, he made him promise on oath to admit an Orthodox patriarch into Antioch.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that an Orthodox bishop made his appearance in Laodicea in the wake of Manuel's triumph and that Gerard refused to stay in the city alongside him. This would explain the vehemence of Gerard's outburst against Sala and his departure for Jerusalem, where, so the charters suggest, he enjoyed royal patronage.<sup>40</sup> In so doing, Gerard would have followed the example of his superior, Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, who chose to spend a few years in self-imposed exile in Jerusalem when his position in Antioch became precarious in the mid-1150s.<sup>41</sup> The identity and office of Sala remain unknown. The Centuriators present him as a priest, Simmler as a Templar—and it should be noted that a Templar *frater Salo cappellanus* drew up in 1163 an agreement between the bishop of Valania, whose see was located south of Laodicea, and the Templar master.<sup>42</sup> If Sala had indeed been this—or another—Templar, Gerard's charge that he had presumed to consecrate a cemetery and encroached thereby on episcopal rights, would make egregious sense, for in 1145 Pope Eugene III instructed the *prelates* to bless the cemeteries of the Templars.<sup>43</sup> (The issue evidently led to clashes between the Military Orders and the episcopate, for in 1183 Lucius III had to proclaim on three different occasions that, if the pertinent diocesan refuses to bless a Templar or Hospitaller cemetery, the knights may ask any bishop of their choice to perform that function.)<sup>44</sup> The one moot

point about this reconstruction is why Gerard, Prince Rainald's trusted adviser on the way to Cilicia, was not able to ward off Sala and his Greek bishop a short time later. Perhaps Manuel had forced Rainald to promise to introduce Orthodox prelates not only to Antioch, as Cinnamus relates, but to other sees of the principality as well. Indeed, at an earlier juncture Manuel's father John is reported to have expelled Latin bishops from the towns of Cilicia which he had conquered, and to have had them replaced with Orthodox ones.<sup>45</sup>

The passage from *De conversatione* preserved in Philip Ribot's work testifies to Gerard's command of Latin; the one sentence from *Contra Salam* quoted by the Centuriators—"As necessity coerces me to read the work of this Sala, I feel as if, chewing pitch or a gluey substance with clogged-up teeth, I were barely capable of gulping down"—suggests that Gerard was a quite formidable polemicist, and a wit as well. But it is *De una Magdalena contra Graecos* which is the most revealing, as it attests to a remarkable learning.

Ever since Gregory the Great, the Latin Church generally identifies Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany as well as with the repentant sinner of Luke 7:36–50, whereas the Orthodox Church, following Origen, regards them as three distinct persons.<sup>46</sup> Paschasius Radbertus (d. ca. 860), who knew of the views of Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, was the last Latin to discuss the issue at any length. Later Western writers, such as Gerard's contemporaries Gilbert of Hoyland and Peter Comestor, assumed the identity as a matter of course, while Bernard and Nicholas of Clairvaux, who had their reservations, limited their expression to a few, lapidary remarks.<sup>47</sup> For Gerard, living as he did in close proximity to Orthodox Christians who honored Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene on different days of the year, the issue

<sup>39</sup>Cinnamus, *Historiae*, IV.18, Bonn ed., 26 (1836), 183. See also *ibid.*, IV.20, 185–86, and the note in RHC Grecs, II (Paris, 1881), 310–12.

<sup>40</sup>Gerard's prolonged stay in the Kingdom of Jerusalem has not yet been commented upon. Discussing the Nazareth charter of 1161, Bernard Hamilton assumes that Gerard was present there as member of the delegation of the count of Tripoli: *Latin Church* (*supra*, note 33), 131. Nothing in the charter supports this assumption; and Laodicea belonged to Antioch not Tripoli.

<sup>41</sup>For Aimery's exile, see Hamilton, *Latin Church*, 43–44.

<sup>42</sup>RRH, 381. S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano*, I (Lucca, 1733), 41, no. 39. The document (Malta Archives, Div. I, vol. 2, piece 27), a parchment with holes for a seal, is evidently the original; it has: "et frater salo cappellanus qui hanc cartam ditauit." I would like to thank Professor Anthony Luttrell, of the University of Malta, for having examined the document for me.

<sup>43</sup>R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter. Archivberichte und Texte*, AbhGöttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. III.77 (1972), 217, no. 10; cf. 237, no. 31.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 347–48, nos. 159–60; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, I, 442, no. 657.

<sup>45</sup>Odo of Deuil, *De profectione* (*supra*, note 36), 68–70.

<sup>46</sup>The best discussion, which proved also to be most helpful for the identification of the texts quoted in Gerard's *De una Magdalena*, is that by U. Holzmeister, "Die Magdalenenfrage in der kirchlichen Überlieferung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 46 (1922), 402–22, 556–84. See also V. Saxer, "Les Saintes Marie Madeleine et Marie de Béthanie dans la tradition liturgique et homilétique orientale," *RSR*, 32 (1958), 1–37.

<sup>47</sup>Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matthaevum*, PL, 120, cols. 875–82; Gilbert of Hoyland, *In Cantica sermo XXXIII*, PL, 184, cols. 171–73; Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica in Evangelia*, 64, PL, 198, col. 1571A, also *Sermo in festo S. Magdalene*, PL, 171, cols. 671–78; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica* 12, PL, 183, col. 831A; Nicholas of Clairvaux, *Sermo in festo B. Mariae Magdalene*, PL, 185, cols. 216B, 218A. Cf. Holzmeister, "Magdalenenfrage," 583–84. For a list of Latin writers from Gregory the Great onward who assume the identity, see V. Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1959), 3, note 12.

was however alive, and it may have become of still greater concern because of his ties with the Latin nuns of Bethany for whom he had written a sermon, as the Orthodox feasts of Mary of Bethany were presumably linked to the Bethany sanctuary at which the Latin nunnery was established in 1143.<sup>48</sup> Hence Gerard dedicated a full-length treatise to the issue, the only Catholic to do so before Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples was to trigger a long debate with his *De Maria Magdalena* of 1518.<sup>49</sup>

Gerard quotes passages from Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, Augustine's *De consensu Evangelistarum*, Jerome's *Epistola ad Hedybiam*, Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelia*, and Bede's *Homelia Evangelii*, as well as from a sermon which medievals attributed to Ambrose, but which modern research has ascribed to one of his Spanish contemporaries, Gregory of Elvira. In addition, Gerard is aware of the views of Origen and Anselm—it is not clear whether he means Anselm of Canterbury or Anselm of Laon—and refers to Jerome's *Liber contra Jovinianum*. This assembly of authorities is impressive indeed: in the High Middle Ages, only Aquinas will match Gerard in his breadth of reading—though not in the length of his discourse—on the subject.<sup>50</sup>

In his exposition, Gerard roughly follows the usage of his day. First he states his position, giving two reasons of his own for the identity of the two Marys. (The repentant sinner of Luke 7:36–50 interests him much less, probably because the Orthodox Church never dedicated a specific feast to her.)<sup>51</sup> Then he presents his authorities, from Ambrose to Bede, and while doing so duly notes Ambrose's vacillation on the issue and attempts to harmonize the views of Jerome and Augustine. Subsequently he adduces the Latin reverence for a single Mag-

daen, honored by a single feast, as a further argument for the identity of the two Marys. Finally, he deals with objections to the unitary thesis, arguing that Ambrose's reservation is tentatively formulated, that Jerome's postulation of two women in *Contra Jovinianum* is set off by his contrary statement in the *Epistola ad Hedybiam*,<sup>52</sup> and that the opinions of Ambrose and Augustine—which Gerard presents as far more definite than they had actually been—should be preferred over that of Origen.<sup>53</sup> The treatise concludes on the conciliatory note that a Christian may believe either in the unity or in the diversity of the two Marys without great peril to his soul; yet it is preferable to adhere to the view which is more true or likely.

Does Gerard's familiarity with a considerable number of patristic works, and his capacity to construe a complex argument, prove that he had studied in Europe? Not necessarily. The one surviving catalogue of a chapter library of the Crusader East lists the same kind of works to be encountered in contemporary, medium-sized cathedral libraries of France and Italy.<sup>54</sup> It so happens that this crusader catalogue describes the library of the church of Nazareth. The manuscript dates from 1200 or so,<sup>55</sup> but it is reasonable to assume that the affluent shrine church of Nazareth, which owned land in Apulia—and perhaps elsewhere as well—before 1158,<sup>56</sup> had possessed already in Gerard's day many of the books listed in this catalogue, and that other well-

<sup>48</sup> For the probable links between the Orthodox feasts and Bethany, see Saxer, "Les Saintes," 19, 36; on the establishment of the Latin convent in 1143, see H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, MGHSchr, XXVI (Stuttgart, 1977), 389. As an erstwhile hermit, Gerard might also have shared the Latin hermits' special devotion to the Magdalene, on which see É. Delaruelle, "Les ermites et la spiritualité populaire," in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 1962 (Milan, 1965), 235–36.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. A. Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Magdalen," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 16 (1969), 31–60.

<sup>50</sup> While commenting on Matthew 26:6 and John 11:1, Aquinas mentions the views of Origen, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Gregory: *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, X (Parma, 1860; repr. New York, 1949), 242, 489. Albertus Magnus, in his commentary on Luke, mentions only the opinion of Gregory and Bede as opposed to that of John Chrysostom and Origen: *B. Alberti Magni Opera Omnia*, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, XXII (Paris, 1894), 507.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Saxer, "Les Saintes," p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> In his *Contra Jovinianum*, Jerome writes: "Quod et duae mulieres in Evangelio, poenitens et sancta, significant: quarum altera pedes, altera caput tenet. Tametsi nonnulli existimant unam esse, et quae primum coepit a pedibus, eam gradatim ad verticem pervenisse." (PL, 23, col. 340BC). This statement evidently supports the unitary position, yet in the Centuriators' summary it is presented as favoring the opposite view. Apparently Gerard, or his summarizers, erred in their judgment.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of the views of Ambrose and Augustine, see Holzmeister, "Magdalenenfrage," 416–17, 421–22, 560–62, 573–75.

<sup>54</sup> The catalogue was edited by W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der amptonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), 360–61, to be read with the corrections of P. Lehmann, "Von Nazareth nach Erfurt," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 50 (1933), 483–84. J. S. Beddie arrived independently at the conclusion that the catalogue describes the library of the church of Nazareth: "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 240–41.

<sup>55</sup> This is the date given by Lehmann. As Nazareth was conquered by Saladin in 1187 and recovered by the Franks only in 1229, the catalogue must have been drawn up either in Nazareth before 1187 or after 1229, or in Acre, where the bishops of the Muslim-ruled dioceses dwelt since 1191.

<sup>56</sup> A donation to the church of Nazareth made in Barletta in 1158 transfers possessions *Petro venerabili presbitero et canonico ipsius ecclesie et obedientiarum ipsius ecclesie in his partibus legitime constituto*: Francesco Nitti di Vito, ed., *Le pergamene di Barletta, Archivio capitolare (897–1285)*, Codice diplomatico Barese, VIII (Bari, 1914), 123, no. 85. The formulation indicates that Nazareth had possessions in that region before 1158.

endowed churches in the country had comparable libraries at their disposal. Now, among the seventy-two items of the Nazareth catalogue there appear *Anbrosius* (sic) *super Lucam*, a work Gerard quotes; the *epistole Ieronimi et Augustini*, which may have contained the *epistola ad Hedybiam* to which Gerard refers; and *XV<sup>im</sup> libri beati Augustini*, which may have included the *De consensu Evangelistarum* used by Gerard. The catalogue lists also four other works of Jerome (though not *Contra Jovinianum*) and four works by Gregory the Great (though not the *Homiliae in Evangelia*). Consequently, Gerard may well have found his sources in a library of the Latin East of the type documented by the Nazareth catalogue. A book like *Cur Deus homo*, also listed in that catalogue, might have made him familiar with the rebuttal of *obiectiones*. Moreover, Gerard might have corresponded with some European scholar before setting out to write his treatise on the Magdalen: his superior, Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, was to receive from the Pisan, Constantinople-based theologian Hugh Etherianus, the Latin and the Greek versions of his tract on the double procession of the Holy Spirit—a tract clearly intended for polemics with the Orthodox of Antioch—and was to ask him for three further works,<sup>57</sup> while a contemporary patriarch of Jerusalem wrote to Peter Comestor, asking for arguments justifying warfare against the pagans.<sup>58</sup>

Though having lived in proximity to Orthodox Christians, Gerard betrayed no knowledge of Greek texts in his attack on the Orthodox position. He was aware of, though apparently did not quote, Origen's view, but this was available in Latin translation.<sup>59</sup> Other Greek texts are not even alluded to. Gerard's younger contemporary, Hugh Etherianus, combed the libraries of Constantinople for Greek texts which might prove that some Greek Fathers believed, like the Latins, in the dual

procession of the Holy Spirit; Gerard, had he undertaken a similar search, might have discovered that the eleventh-century Byzantine chronicler Cedrenus considered Mary Magdalene to have been the sister of Lazarus, i.e., that Cedrenus assumed, like the Latins, an identity of the two Marys.<sup>60</sup> But Gerard, whose very choice of topic indicates that he was of a different calibre than Hugh, must have attempted to bolster the confidence of the Latins of Outremer in the teachings of their Church rather than to have aimed at convincing the Greeks of their error. And, despite the Centuriators' assurance that he was *Graece et Latine doctus*, it is just possible that his knowledge of Greek was not sufficient for the latter task.

### III

Gerard's works dramatically enhance our knowledge of eremitism in the Latin East. It is well known that a hermit played a significant role in the First Crusade, and a few references attest to the existence of hermits in the Crusading Kingdom,<sup>61</sup> but they are too scanty to warrant meaningful generalization. Gerard's *De conversatione* and *Vita abbatis Eliae*, on the other hand, reveal an entire gallery of Latin hermits living in the East in the first half of the twelfth century, and allow some conclusions about the nature and evolution of this branch of Latin eremitism.

The hermits "prefer the silence of the wilderness to the tumults of the city," writes Gerard in the one passage of *De conversatione* which survives, due to Carmelite interest, in its entirety. His sketches of their lives, summarized by the Centuriators, show them withdrawing to caves on the slopes of Mount Tabor or wandering in Galilee and along the Black Mountain near Antioch; the Hungarian priest Cosmas shuts himself in a cell atop the walls of Jerusalem, not unlike Simon of Trier who, a century earlier, ended his days in a compartment of that

<sup>57</sup> The exchange between Hugh Etherianus and Aimery of Antioch is printed in E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, I (Paris, 1717), cols. 479–81, and reprinted (with some mistakes) in PL, 202, cols. 229–32. Hugh writes that he is sending his book to Aimery *per manum gloriosissimi principis Rainaldi*; Antoine Dondaine deduced from this phrase that Rainald of Châtillon made an otherwise undocumented voyage to Constantinople after his liberation from Muslim captivity in 1176; the voyage probably took place at the end of 1176 or at the beginning of 1177: A. Dondaine, "Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan," *AHMA*, 27 (1952), 88, note 1.

<sup>58</sup> Peter's answer was edited by J. Leclercq, "Gratien, Pierre de Troyes et la seconde croisade," *Studia Gratiana*, 2 (1954), 589–93; for a discussion, see E.-D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, XIX (Stuttgart, 1980), 154–58.

<sup>59</sup> See, for instance, PG, 13, cols. 1721B–1726C (the tract survives only in Latin translation).

<sup>60</sup> For a biographical sketch of Hugh, see Dondaine, "Hugues Éthérien," 69–97; for an appreciation of his treatise on the double procession of the Holy Spirit, see M. V. Anastos, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Influence on Latin Thought," in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, M. Clagett et al., eds. (Madison, 1961), 140–49. The remark of Cedrenus appears in his *Historiarum compendium*, PG, 121, col. 1148B; cf. Holzmeister, "Magdalenenfrage" (*supra*, note 46), 578.

<sup>61</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land (1185)*, trans. A. Stewart, in Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, V/3 (London, 1896), 27–29, 35; Conrad of Montferrat's letter to King Béla of Hungary (January 1188), ed. in A. Chroust, *Tageno, Ansbart und die Historia Peregrinorum* (Graz, 1892), 200; his letter to Baldwin of Canterbury (September 20, 1188), in Delaville, *Cartulaire* (*supra*, note 34), I, 531, no. 858; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, LII–LIII, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, I (Hanau, 1611), 1075–76.



city's Porta Nigra. Some shun all human contact. One hides for years, half nude, emaciated, and sun-scorched, in the forest of Mount Tabor, and when a fellow Christian finally persuades him to tell his story, it transpires that he had lived in the woods ever since the Crusader conquest of Antioch and did not know that the city was still in Latin hands. Another hermit built himself a hut in a remote valley of the Black Mountain, communicating with other humans only by signs, and abstaining from the flesh of any creature, as well as from eggs. Renunciation of meat and wine, scant and rough clothing, bare feet, uncombed hair and unwashed limbs recur time and again in Gerard's portrayals of these Latin hermits, as do frequent fasts, self-flagellation, and feats of prayer. One recluse, standing, recites the entire Psalter every day. And there is temptation to ward off, which in the case of one hermit on Mount Tabor assumes the form of a beautiful Saracen girl who chances upon his cave and prompts him to flee to the woods.

Other enthusiasts sought perfection by serving the lepers who lived in a house outside the walls of Jerusalem. Of these, Gerard describes in considerable detail one Alberic, who took care of the lepers' daily needs, kissed each of them every day after Mass, and carried the feeble among them on his shoulders. As he was once washing a leper's feet, the water mixed with blood and with sanies made him sick, and he forced himself to plunge his face into the foul liquid and to draw in some part of it.<sup>62</sup> Alberic used to whip himself so hard that the blood would stream down, to pray so often on his knees that they became callous, to wear a shirt of the roughest goat-hair. The hair and beard, cut asymmetrically, gave him a frightening visage. But, in his case, self-mortification did not entail a meekness of the spirit, and he would hurl biting, disparaging remarks at laymen who came his way.

Some hermits chose communal life. Several lived for some time in a large cave near Jerusalem; others formed a more stable community at Jubin, later at Machanath, both in the Black Mountain. Gerard describes the original, stringent rules which the members of Jubin imposed upon themselves. The prior they elected was strictly forbidden to receive any possessions: when a noble offered a sum of money, only three besants were to be accepted. Each

member lived in his own cell. Meat, eggs, and milk were banned altogether, three days a week the members limited themselves to bread and water, while on the other days they were allowed cooked vegetables as well. Fish was consumed seldom, wine most rarely.

Men exercised considerable mobility among these three, as well as other, modes of life, usually moving toward the more difficult.<sup>63</sup> Reinald, a monk of the Tabor monastery, would leave at the beginning of Lent for the wilderness along the Jordan, taking with him a few loaves of bread and a tool to dig up roots. There he would struggle with hunger until the coming of Easter—an *imitatio Christi* the Centuriators were to deride. Bartholomew, who came to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, first became a Knight Templar, then imitated Alberic in serving the lepers, and finally became a monk in the Black Mountain. The Burgundian knight Valerius also came to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, soon afterward left for Jubin but, unsatisfied with life there, spent twelve years in the wilderness until, maltreated by Armenian shepherds, he returned to die in Jubin. Another pilgrim, Radulph, was captured by pirates on his voyage home, returned to the Holy Land, became a shepherd, then a member of Carraria—another Black Mountain community—and finally left for the desert. Some considered him a prophet. When the emperor of Constantinople besieged Antioch—the 1137 campaign of John Comnenus is probably meant here—Radulph fled to Tripoli and died there in 1142. Many who came to his tomb were said to have been healed.

The two towering figures in this gallery of Men of God living in the Holy Land are Bernard of Blois and Elias of Palmaria. They, too, led an austere, restless life. Bernard of Blois—a man of eloquence and fervor, according to Gerard—was a member of the original group at Jubin, and insisted on a strict adherence to the rules by which the members had agreed to live. When the prior—whose name goes unmentioned—relaxed the rules, began to accept gifts, and even permitted the consumption of sweet wine, Bernard and like-minded hard-liners vehemently objected. Quarrels ensued, and Bernard in his anger decided to die of hunger in the forest rather than tolerate these deviations—a course of action Gerard seems to have unfavorably

<sup>62</sup> It is possible that the house of lepers was located at St. Stephen's north of Jerusalem: Shulamith Shahar, "Des lépreux pas comme les autres. L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem," *RH*, 541 (1982), 25 and note 23. On monastic care for lepers, and on their image as especially chosen for salvation, see S. N. Brody, *The Disease of the Soul. Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca and London, 1974), 101–4.

<sup>63</sup> The progress from monk to anchorite or hermit is already described in the Benedictine Rule: *La règle de Saint Benoît*, 1, ed. and trans. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, I (Paris, 1972), 436–38. For a similar shift among English women, see A. K. Warren, "The Nun as anchoress: England, 1100–1500," in *Medieval Religious Women*, ed. J. Nichols *et al.*, I (in press).



commented upon. Then Bernard left for Jerusalem and publicly censured King Baldwin II—who reigned between 1118 and 1131—for some “immense offenses,” and this reprobation, which had some impact on the king, earned him much praise.

The reference to Baldwin II's *vitia enormia*, the denunciation of which was applauded in Jerusalem, is disturbing at first glance. William of Tyre eulogizes the second Baldwin in glowing terms: *in expeditione foelix; in operibus pius, clemens et misericors; religiosus et timens Deum*, and so forth.<sup>64</sup> True, Hans Eberhard Mayer has recently drawn attention to the opposition of the clergy, serving as the mouthpiece of a part of the nobility, to Baldwin's expeditions of 1119 and 1120 to Antioch.<sup>65</sup> However, Bernard of Blois, coming from the north himself, could hardly have objected to military campaigns aimed at the defense of Antioch, nor could these have easily been categorized as *vitia*. It should be noted, though, that Matthew of Edessa, who knew Baldwin in person, and lauded his valor, orthodoxy, and modesty, added that these qualities were “tarnished by a greediness ingenious at laying hands on the wealth of others, by an insatiable love of money, and a lack of generosity.”<sup>66</sup> And there are two passages in the strictly contemporary chronicle by Fulcher of Chartres which, especially when read against the present context, imply some misgivings with regard to Baldwin's moral comport. When Baldwin assumes direct control of Antioch in 1119, Fulcher writes: “I therefore admonish and beseech the king that he love God with his whole heart and entire soul and all his strength,” and this rather unexpected call is followed, a few lines down, by the explicit warning: “Let him beware not to bear a close-fisted hand toward God, who gives abundantly and without reproaching. If he desires to be king, let him strive to govern rightly.”<sup>67</sup> The modern editor of this text, Heinrich Hagenmeyer, remarked that the admonition against a close-fisted hand suggests that Fulcher may have been aware of some of the deficiencies pointed out by Matthew.<sup>68</sup> At a later point, when Baldwin is in Muslim captivity and the Jerusalemites nonetheless triumph over their enemies, Fulcher permits himself a less

veiled thrust at the king and, contrasting the captive Baldwin with the King of Kings who allowed the Franks to gain their victory, he remarks: “Perhaps he was not king, whom as it so happened we had lost accidentally.” God, on the contrary, “is in truth king, that is to say, governs rightly. How then shall he be king, who is always overcome by his vices (*vitii*)? Does one deserve to be called king, if one is always unbound by the law? Because he does not keep God's law, he is not protected, and because he does not fear God, he shall fear the man who is his enemy. An adulterer or a perjurer or a perpetrator of sacrilege irrecoverably loses the name of king. A liar and a cheat, who will trust in him? He who is on a level with the impious, how will God listen to him? If he is a shatterer of churches, an oppressor of the poor, then he does not govern but destroys.”<sup>69</sup> Hagenmeyer's keen intuition led him to surmise that the expression *pauperum oppressor* may have been aimed at Baldwin;<sup>70</sup> Bernard of Blois' attack enhances the probability that some of the vices listed by Fulcher indeed referred to the king, with the chronicler prudently dispersing them within a more general catalogue of qualities a ruler should be free of.

When Baldwin was in Turkish captivity—we know from other sources that he was taken prisoner on 18 April 1123 and regained his freedom in the summer of 1124<sup>71</sup>—Bernard went to visit him and used the opportunity to preach the Christian faith to “the Turkish tyrant,” by whom Baldwin's captor, Nūr ad-Dawla Balak of Aleppo, is most probably meant. Gerard reports that when the Turk became incensed with ire, Bernard told him that even a lance thrust through his heart would not dissuade him from declaring the truth. Thus Bernard of Blois anticipated by about a century Francis of Assisi's famous preaching before al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt.

Bernard was finally absolved from obedience to the prior of Jubin, and Patriarch Bernard of Antioch—known from other sources to have ruled between 1100 and 1135<sup>72</sup>—allowed him to found a monastic community at Machanath, also in the Black Mountain. A papal legate appointed him its prior. Bernard used to lash himself daily, and when a novice became possessed and blessed water, the cross and the host proved to be of no avail, Ber-

<sup>64</sup> WT, XII.4.

<sup>65</sup> H. E. Mayer, “Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II,” *CRAI* (1980), 717–33.

<sup>66</sup> *Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, in RHC, Documents Arméniens, I (Paris, 1869), 119.

<sup>67</sup> Fulcher, *Historia*, III.7, ed. Hagenmeyer, 635; English trans. by F. R. Ryan and H. S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), 231. (Here and below my translation differs on several points.) The injunction is considerably more specific than the one Fulcher voices in *Historia*, II.6 on the occasion of Baldwin I's accession.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, 31; also, 616, note 4.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, III.21, 673–74; English trans., 245–46.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, III.21, 674, note 14; also, Introduction, 31.

<sup>71</sup> See, for instance, R. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), 155, 172.

<sup>72</sup> On Bernard of Valence's pontificate, see Hamilton, *Latin Church (supra*, note 33), 21–30.

nard applied his whip and liberated the novice thereby. (*Nota modum*, the Centuriators add disapprovingly.) Machanath was Bernard's last station. He died there praying on his knees.

Bernard of Blois has hitherto been totally unknown; the other major figure, Elias, has been until now only a name, the man who witnessed as *Helias abbas Palmarie* an 1138 charter of King Fulk of Jerusalem.<sup>73</sup> The Centuriators' summary of Gerard's *Vita abbatis Eliae* allows us to describe his life in some detail. Since Gerard was on friendly terms with Elias, one may assume that many of the details derive from their conversations.

A teacher of grammar in the region of Narbonne, Elias once intended to go to Spain and preach Christianity to the Saracens—an urge similar to that which prompted Bernard of Blois to preach to his Turkish tyrant—but was dissuaded from doing so. In the days of King Fulk—i.e., in or after 1131—he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was ordained a priest in a “monastery of hermits” while underway, and, having visited the holy places, withdrew with his followers to a large cave near Jerusalem. The monks of Josaphat beseeched him to join their congregation; the patriarch of Jerusalem—i.e., William of Flanders—urged him to do so, and finally he agreed. From the Josaphat monastery, he was recalled to serve as abbot of Palmaria, a monastery situated, according to Gerard, not far from Tiberias.<sup>74</sup> King Fulk's wife—i.e., Melisende—released him from this office and he returned to Jerusalem, a further instance of Melisende's improper intervention in church affairs.<sup>75</sup> However, urged by the archbishop of Nazareth, Elias came back to Palmaria after a few years.

Elias reminds us of Bernard of Blois by his strict austerity, self-flagellation, and refusal to accept gifts. But, unlike Bernard, the erstwhile grammarian Elias cultivated intellectual interests, repeatedly explicating obscure passages of Scripture. Knowledgeable of European developments, Elias admired the Cistercians to the extent that he sent one of his followers to Gaul to bring back a Cistercian monk and learn about their customs at first hand. (The Centuriators' summary, or perhaps Gerard himself, do not spell out whether this mission was successful.) But in willpower Elias was no match for Bernard.

While Bernard left Jubin on his own, publicly attacked Baldwin II, and actually preached Christianity to a Muslim ruler, Elias, whose impulses were similar, let himself to be dissuaded time and again. Once he played with the idea of offering himself and his followers to the Egyptians of Ascalon so as to obtain the liberation of an equal number of Christians held there in captivity, but his men talked him out of it; the patriarch of Jerusalem persuaded him to join the monks of Josaphat, the archbishop of Nazareth—to return to Palmaria. When the monks of Palmaria understandably refused to wear the Cistercian hood in the heat of the Jordan valley, and Elias resolved to leave them on that account, he finally stayed put, having been unable to obtain leave from his patriarch and the archbishop. He died at Palmaria in 1140, in the presence of some monks from Jerusalem, possibly former members of the original group which had gathered around him in the cave near Jerusalem.

The summaries of *De conversatione* and *Vita abbatis Eliae* point out that religious enthusiasts, so prominent on the First Crusade, continued to flock to the Holy Land in later years and formed part of the Frankish society which came to life there. These enthusiasts may be considered as a somewhat belated aftermath of the wave of eremitism which had swept Catholic Europe in the latter part of the eleventh and the early decades of the twelfth century. Part and parcel of the broader movement intent on a return to apostolic life, the European hermits of that period practiced severe austerity, self-mortification, and flagellation; many were vagrants, and some played a role in the preaching of Christianity to pagans. Soon there sprang up “eremitical communities”—if one may borrow the paradoxical yet apposite term coined by Jean Leclercq—of which the *eremitarum monasterium* of the *Vita abbatis Eliae* seems to have been an instance. Peter Damiani, who led one of these new communities, refused to be called abbot, just like Elias of Palmaria was to prohibit his followers, especially during his sojourn in the cave near Jerusalem, from addressing him as abbot or prior. While the more unruly hermits aroused the criticism of writers like Ivo of Chartres or Payen Bolotin, some attained fame and honor. A certain Hugh—to quote Payen Bolotin—

religionis laude probatus,

Ex heremita sumpsit honorem pontificatus,

becoming in about 1110 bishop of Nevers, just like a generation later the hermit Gerard of Nazareth

<sup>73</sup>RRH, no. 174; E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1849), 62, no. 33; cf. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (*supra*, note 36), 137, note 140.

<sup>74</sup>For the location and history of this monastery, see B. Z. Kedar, “Palmarée, abbaye clunisienne du douzième siècle, en Galilée,” *Revue Bénédictine* (in press).

<sup>75</sup>Cf. Mayer, *Bistümer* (*supra*, note 48), 192.

was to become bishop of Laodicea. By 1145, the eremitic wave had largely spent itself in the West, with many groups disappearing, and others attaching themselves to existing orders, especially Cîteaux.<sup>76</sup>

It would seem that some of the more fervent spirits chose to flee the growing regimentation in the West and embark upon a life of sanctity in Crusader Outremer. One keeps wondering whether these enthusiasts came under the influence of Eastern hermits and monks, especially on the Black Mountain which was, both before and during the Crusader period, dotted with Armenian, Greek, and Georgian convents and—to quote an eleventh-century Armenian writer—“monasteries inhabited by anchorites.”<sup>77</sup> Some of the newly established Latin monastic communities were physically close to Oriental ones.<sup>78</sup> Bernard of Blois’ Machanath may have taken over the name of some indigenous, possibly Armenian establishment.<sup>79</sup> Some contacts evidently ensued. Nerses of Lambron, Armenian archbishop of Tarsus from 1175 to his death in 1198, who in his youth had retired into solitude for some time, writes that during a visit to the Black Mountain he “admired, full of astonishment, the life of solitude, virtue, and mortification of the Roman monks called today Franks.” The amazed Nerses asked a Greek monk, Basil, why these Franks were surpassing their Greek and Armenian counterparts, and Basil referred him to Gregory the Great’s *Life of St. Benedict*; Nerses, who knew Latin, set out to find and translate into Armenian both the *Life* and the *Rule of Benedict*.<sup>80</sup> Whether the Latins were impressed by the Oriental hermits and monks remains unknown. At any rate, in the Centuriators’ summaries of Gerard’s works the Orientals go un-

mentioned—and, as the Centuriators elsewhere exhibit an interest in the Eastern churches, one may assume that it was Gerard himself who chose to ignore them.

In the Crusader East, too, the Catholic hierarchy was intent on channelling eremitic ardor to traditional routes. We have seen that Patriarch Bernard of Antioch and a papal legate furthered the establishment of Bernard of Blois’ community at Machanath, and that Patriarch William of Jerusalem persuaded Elias to leave his cave and join—probably with his followers—the monks of Josaphat. And Patriarch Aimery of Antioch (1140–1193) intervened still more radically with eremitical life when he laid down the rule that no one may live in solitude in the Black Mountain without a superior (*sine maiore inspectore*): so reports Gerard of Nazareth.

Indeed, Aimery of Antioch appears to have been a remarkably active prelate. When Eugene III asked him for a Latin translation of John Chrysostom’s commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew, he procured a copy of the Greek text and sent it to the pope, who in his turn entrusted Burgundio of Pisa with its translation.<sup>81</sup> In 1176 or 1177, as we have seen, he corresponded with Hugh Etherianus, his letter revealing that in the past he had repeatedly invited Hugh to come to Antioch, no doubt in order to fortify the Latins in their disputes with the Greeks.<sup>82</sup> In 1178 he invited the Jacobite patriarch, Michael the Syrian, to attend the Third Lateran Council, probably informing him at the same time that the Cathar heresy was to be discussed there.<sup>83</sup> In about 1182 he succeeded in securing the union of the Maronites with Rome.<sup>84</sup> Gerard’s statement about Aimery’s regulation of eremitical life in the Black Mountain is congruent

<sup>76</sup> On Western eremitism see Jean Leclercq, “La crise du monachisme aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *BISI*, 70 (1958), 19–41; and the volume *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (see note 48 *supra*), especially the articles by Cinzio Violante, Giovanni Tabacco, Gérard Gilles Meersseman, Jean Becquet, and Jerzy Kloczowski. For criticism of the vagrant hermits, see Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 192, PL, 162, cols. 196–202; J. Leclercq, “Le poème de Payen Bolotin contre les faux ermites,” *RBén*, 68 (1958), 52–86; the verses concerning Bishop Hugh of Nevers appear on p. 83, lines 293–94.

<sup>77</sup> On the monasteries on the Black Mountain, see L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arménie-Cilicie. Description géographique et historique* (Venice, 1899), 485–91, with the quotation (from Aristates of Lastivert) appearing on p. 485; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 323–24, 332 note 8, 565, 577, 628.

<sup>78</sup> Cahen, *Syrie*, 324 and note 6.

<sup>79</sup> Mak'énots or Mak'énis is the name of a monastery in Greater Armenia: *Extraits de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, 38 and note. Macheguévior or Machegavor was one of the main Armenian monasteries on the Black Mountain: Alishan, *Sissouan*, 488–89.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 517; Cahen, *Syrie*, 565.

<sup>81</sup> Burgundio writes in his prologue to the translation: “Ad Antiochenum igitur patriarcham scribens, quod predictis commentationibus deerat, ejus interventu ab aliquo interprete suppleri amonebat. Ipse autem sive desidia sive incertia interpretum ignoro, hoc minime complens, expositionem ejusdem S. Johannis super eundem evangelistam graecis litteris scriptam eidem summo pontifici mandare curavit”: E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio*, I (Paris, 1724; repr. New York, 1968), cols. 817–18. The fact that a Greek manuscript from Antioch had to be translated in Pisa suggests that the knowledge of Greek among the Latins of Antioch must have been limited indeed.

As Burgundio completed his translation in December 1151 (col. 819), Eugene’s request to Aimery may be dated between 1145 and 1150.

<sup>82</sup> “Quare vos . . . frequenter optavimus ut veniretis ad nos, et adhuc perseveramus in proposito . . .” *Thesaurus novus* (note 57 *supra*), col. 480.

<sup>83</sup> *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), 377–78.

<sup>84</sup> WT, XXII.8.

with the other, hitherto largely disparate evidence about his activities.

Gerard's testimony about Aimery throws also some light on a vexed problem of Carmelite origins. The Dominican Etienne de Salagnac, who died in 1291, writes in his *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit* (which survives however only in the expanded version of Bernard Gui, who died in 1331) that Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, who likewise originated from Salagnac and had a nephew among the hermits of Mount Carmel, *multum ipsos spiritualiter in domino nutriebat et in scriptis modum vite ipsorum redigens, ipsos separatim in cellulis per totum montem Carmeli antea habitantes sub cura unius adunavit et per professionis vinculum colligavit et per sedem apostolicam confirmari curavit*.<sup>85</sup> An anonymous Carmelite tract of the early fourteenth century adds that Aimery gave the Carmel hermits their name—*heremitae beate Marie de Monte Carmeli*—and appointed his nephew as their first prior.<sup>86</sup> In his *Speculum* of 1337, the Carmelite John of Chamineto adds that Aimery “destroyed the Maronite error.”<sup>87</sup> The *Epistola Cyrilli heremite*, published by Philip Ribot in 1370, claims in addition that Aimery served as papal legate in the Holy Land, ordered to translate a Greek rule into Latin for the benefit of the hermits on Mount Carmel, appointed in 1121 his brother Berthold as their first prior, and ordered that a monastery be built on the mountain.<sup>88</sup> Another work published by Ribot in 1370, the *Chronica Guilelmi de Sanvico*, claims that Aimery established some hermits of Mount Carmel in the wilderness of the Black Mountain.<sup>89</sup>

The date 1121 is patently wrong. The notion of a Carmelite rule, a prior, and a monastery established on Aimery's initiative is untenable, as several modern authors have pointed out, and clearly betrays a Carmelite impulse to backdate the origins

of their order to the early twelfth century.<sup>90</sup> But the passage by Etienne de Salagnac, a Dominican who had no stake in embellishing Carmelite history, and who may be trusted to have known the tradition circulating in his native Salagnac about the one famous son of that place (a man who had served as patriarch of Antioch for more than fifty years), has been given some limited credence. Thus, Clemens Kopp assumed that Aimery may well have had a relative among the hermits of Mount Carmel, and therefore helped and advised them in a private capacity, influencing the direction which the emerging order was to take.<sup>91</sup> Now that Gerard's *De conversatione* shows Aimery to have imposed a rudimentary organization on the hermits of the Black Mountain, the possibility that he gave some similar regimen to the hermits of Mount Carmel—perhaps during his self-imposed exile to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-1150's—gains more likelihood. The same is true of the assertion of the *Chronica Guilelmi de Sanvico*, that Aimery induced some Carmel hermits to leave for the Black Mountain.

Of course, it is also possible that the tradition related by Etienne de Salagnac referred originally to the regulation of the life of the hermits of the Black Mountain, and was later transposed to those of Mount Carmel, whose successors became in the meantime so well known in the West.<sup>92</sup>

#### IV

Three of the monasteries first mentioned by Gerard of Nazareth also appear in later documents.

A letter which Pope Alexander III sent, about 1171, to the archbishop of Nazareth and three other Palestinian prelates, and a roughly contemporaneous letter King Amalric of Jerusalem sent to Pope Alexander, reveal that Palmaria had come upon bad times.<sup>93</sup> The pope regrets that it is destitute of the devotion with which it had glittered in the past, and the king mentions that a former abbot, now

<sup>85</sup> Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaeppli, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, XXII (Rome, 1949), 180; also, 181.

<sup>86</sup> *De inceptiione Ordinis beate Marie virginis de Monte Carmelo*, ed. G. Wessels in *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, 8 (1932–37), 179. The anonymous author asserts that Aimery gave his attention to the hermits before the earthquake which destroyed Antioch, Tripoli, and Damascus in 1160—an obvious mistake for 1170—the twentieth year of Alexander III (sic!).

<sup>87</sup> *Speculum* of 1507 (see note 3 *supra*), 50b.

<sup>88</sup> The *Epistola* appears in Ribot, *De institutione*, VIII.2. In the 15th-century manuscripts mentioned above, the pertinent passage appears in MS R, fol. 236<sup>v</sup>; MS T, fol. 282; and MS M, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>–137<sup>r</sup>. The passage is most easily accessible in *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, 3 (1914–16), 283–84.

<sup>89</sup> The *Chronica* appears in Ribot, *De institutione*, IX.1. For the pertinent passage, see MS R, fol. 258<sup>r</sup>; MS T, fol. 295<sup>v</sup>; and MS M, fol. 150<sup>v</sup>. *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, 3 (1914–16), 303, 305.

<sup>90</sup> See, for instance, Ambrosius a S. Teresa, “Untersuchungen über Verfasser, Abfassungszeit, Quellen und Bestätigung der Karmeliten-Regel,” *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 2 (1948), 30–37; Cicconetti, *La regola* (note 4 *supra*), 96–98.

<sup>91</sup> Clemens Kopp, *Elías und Christentum auf dem Karmel* (Paderborn, 1929), 131.

<sup>92</sup> Gerard himself apparently did not refer at all to hermits on Mt. Carmel—had he done so, both the Carmelite writers of the 14th century and the Centuriators in their entry on the origins of the Carmelite Order (*Centuria* XII, chap. 6, cols. 944–46) would certainly have quoted him.

<sup>93</sup> *RRH*, nos. 484, 495; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, V (Paris, 1894), 590–91, 586–87.

deceased, had dissipated its possessions, and that the present one has not made good either. The pope proposed therefore to establish Cluniac monks on the site. Gormund, the advocate and founder of the abbey, gave his consent and the king asked the pope to send a prior and three or four monks from Cluny. Thus it came about that not Cîteaux, as Elias of Palmaria had hoped for, but its great rival was called on to establish an offshoot along the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The Cluniacs came to Palmaria, and engaged in colonization.<sup>94</sup> However, they did not stay there long, as Saladin's victory of 1187 at the nearby Horns of Hattin was to put an end to the Frankish presence in the area.

Carraria, mentioned by Gerard a number of times, appears in an unpublished document of 1183, by which its abbot, Robert, sells some land to the Hospitaller commander at Antioch.<sup>95</sup>

Jubin, in whose early history Bernard of Blois played so major a role, became a Cistercian house in 1214. Bishop Peter of Ivrea, a former member of a Cistercian community, agreed to become patriarch of Antioch on the condition that he might grant the Cistercian rule to an abbey of the Black Mountain; and it was St. George *de Jubino* which he helped to get incorporated into the Cistercian Order. The difficulties Jubin encountered during the incorporation, the regulation of the attendance of its abbots at the Cistercian Chapters-General, its dispute with the patriarch of Antioch in the early 1230s, the internal quarrel which beset it in the latter part of that decade, as well as the services which its abbot performed on behalf of the papacy in the 1250s, are recorded in the acts of the Chapters-General and in papal letters. The end came in 1268, when Sultan Baybars conquered Antioch. The Cistercians of Jubin fled to Cyprus and from there probably migrated to Genoa.<sup>96</sup>

But even as Palmaria and Jubin were becoming affiliated to Cluny and Cîteaux, some enthusiasts of Outremer continued to adhere to the earlier, looser patterns attested in Gerard's writings. As late as 1235 there still were hermits living on the Black Mountain under a minister, not unlike Elias and his group in the cave near Jerusalem. Possibly they were following Aimery of Antioch's injunction. By that time however they, too, wished to lead a more

regulated life, and applied to Pope Gregory IX.

The pope instructed them to observe the rule of Benedict.<sup>97</sup>

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

## APPENDIX

### Gerardus a Nazareth

Gerardus a Nazareth, patria Galilaeus, ordinis S. Benedicti monachus primum prope Nazareth, deinde apud Antiochiam Carmelitanae sectae eremita, claruit anno 1140. ut ipse testatur cap. 2. de Conversatione servorum Dei. Tandem Laodicensis fit episcopus. In sacris literis eruditus fuit, philosophus et rhetor insignis, Graece et Latine doctus. Scripsit

De conversatione servorum Dei,	lib. 1
Ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam,	lib. 1
Vitam abbatis Eliae,	lib. 1
De una Magdalena contra Graecos,	lib. 1
Contra Salam presbyterum,	lib. 1

Atque alia nonnulla. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1379–80)

Coenobii montis nigri ad Antiochiam, incolam se vocat Gerhardus a Nazareth. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 2, col. 12)

A. *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantium, ad Guillelmum presbyterum seu De conversatione servorum Dei*

(possibly from the prologue) Aliud est genus religiosorum. . . . inter Moysem et Helyam gloriosus effulsit.

Philip Ribot, *De institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum*, III.8.

[For the full text of this passage, see p. 56 *supra*.]

(from chapter 2)

Nazarethae archiepiscopi meminit Gerhardus a Nazareth, qui se in cellula ibidem latuisse scribit, cap. 2 de Conversatione servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 2, col. 11)

Narrat Gerardus a Nazareth in libro de Conversatione servorum Dei, capite secundo, de quodam eremita montis Thabor, qui cum stimulos libidinis persentisceret, irritatus a quadam formosa iuvenula Saracenica, quae lactibula quaeritans, ad eius speluncam venerat, ingressus est vastum aliquod nemus, ut labore, fame atque siti aestum libidinosum restingeret. Ibi quendam canitie gravem (ipsum diabolum fuisse recte dices) apparuisse illi, atque cervicem eius tam fortiter percussisse, ut carnis strumam evomeret, et postea cibum potumque dedisse. Tandem hoc consilii ab eodem accepisse, ut quoties ardorem libidinis persentisceret, secundum Heliam invocaret, intercessorem apud Deum. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1603–4)

<sup>97</sup> *Reg. Greg. IX*, ed. Auvray, no. 2660 (21 June, 1235); the full text is printed in L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3rd ed., I (Quaracchi, 1931), 364.

<sup>94</sup> For details, see my "Palmarée, abbaye clunisienne" (note 74 *supra*).

<sup>95</sup> Delaville, *Cartulaire*, I, 440, no. 651 (summary only); Cahen, *Syrie*, 324 note 9, 523.

<sup>96</sup> Most comprehensive account in B. Hamilton, "The Cistercians in the Crusade States," in *One Yet Two. Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. B. Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series, XXIX (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1976), 408–10, 415–20.

Eremitam quendam ab Elia pastum, narrat Gerhardus a Nazareth de Conversatione servorum Dei, cap. 2. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 13, col. 1750)

(*The Centuriators' biographical notice about Gerard, quoted above, indicates that chapter 2 contained also some details about Gerard's own life.*)

(from chapter 3)

Gerhardus a Nazareth, notum sibi quendam et vita et habitu monachum fuisse, qui in septentrionali latere montis Thabor in specu latuerit, soloque pane et aqua, pomis herbisque crudis vixerit, ac quotidie totum Psalterium stando recitarit, capite 3. de Conversatione servorum Dei indicat. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 987)

(from chapter 5)

Reinaldus natione Galilaeus, monachus montis Thabor, quotannis in initio Quadragesimae solitudinem ad Iordanis ripam ingressus est, sumens secum panes paucos et instrumentum effodiendis radicibus aptum, ibique ad maciem usque cum fame decertasse, donec Pascha adveniret. O ineptum simiarum genus, ieiunium Christi sine mandato Dei et citra omnem necessitatem imitari praesumens. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 5. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1604)

(from chapter 6)

Dominicus homo illiteratus et idiota in ecclesia Nazarethana, tam tetricam et austeram vixit vitam, ut pene omnibus suo tempore admirationi esset. De crastino die nunquam fuit sollicitus, tam macilentus, ut ossa vix ossibus haerent. Risit nunquam, tacuit semper, ita ut mutum existimares. Domus eius atrium ecclesiae fuit, stratum nuda tellus, cervical lapis, pedes nudi, caput et facies velata continuo. Ei cum aliquando Gerhardus a Nazareth suum offerret studium, velle se eum literarum elementa docere et quosdam Psalmos, respuit omnino, indicans, se Deo placere magis posse iuste vivendo, quam tempus perdere inutiliter, aliquid eius rei addiscendo. Tales sanctos hoc nimirum seculum produxit. Gerard. a Nazareth de Conversatione quorundam servorum Dei, cap. 6. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1604)

(from chapter 7)

Bernhardus quispiam homo solitarius Nazarethae, solitus fuit tantum tribus in hebdomada diebus cibum capere, a vino et carnibus in universum abstinens, tenuiter vestiri, mane et vesperi psalmos et preculas deblaterare, de die montes asperos et invios perlustrare, ubi forte latibulum suo coepto aptum reperiret. Is aliquando (dictu mirabile) crines capitis atque barbae ambussit, vestes abiecit in eremum, et occursum penitus refugit humanum, instar canis rabidi, donec tandem post dies quindecim frigore et inedia compulsus, hominum quaereret domicilia. Gerhardus a Nazareth, cap. 7. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1604–5)

(from chapter 9)

Cosmas natione Ungarus, presbyter, in angusta quadam cella super muros Hierosolymitanos inclusus,<sup>1</sup> de-

<sup>1</sup>In his letter to Baldwin of Canterbury, written in Tyre in

murmurandis preculis semper intentus fuit. Idem, cap. 9. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1603)

(from chapter 11)

Radulphus, natione Gallus, nobili genere natus, ita ut septingentorum militum ductor et dominus esset, omnia quae habuit deseruit, et leprosis quendam domum Hierosolymis ante civitatem inhabitantibus inservivit. Gerhardus a Nazareth capite undecimo. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1603)

Albericus itidem Ierosolymis leprosis inservivit. Is ea quae reliqua fecerant leprosi, comedit, singulos quotidie exacta Missa exosculatus est, pedes eorum lavit, tersit, stravit lectos, languentes humeris cubitum portavit. Cumque uni aliquando pedes lavisset, et aqua sanguine et sanie mixta ipsi nauseam moveret, protinus faciem immersit, et partem non exiguam (horribile dictu) exhausit. Cella ipsi magis carcer voluntarius fuit, quam in qua viveret. Flagellis sese frequenter caecidit, ita ut largus cruor distillaret. Preculas demurmurans vel humi stratus procubuit, vel in genua devolutus, ita ut callos obducerent. Pane fuit contentus solo hordeaceo et aqua: cilicio asperissimo usus est, nudis incedens pedibus. Inaequali tonsura caput rasit et barbam, ut morionem crederes. Si qui seculares eum accedebant, aut mordaci dicacitate eos pupugit, aut superbe contempsit hypocrita. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 11. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1603)

(from chapter 12)

Bartolomaeus quispiam praepotero religionis studio uxorem suam pudicam et formosam, et patriam deserens, Hierosolymam peregrinatus, ibi miles templi factus est. Is imitatus Albericum, leprosis ad Ierosolymam aquam ex lacunis magno labore adferre solitus est, inque omni necessitate quantum potuit ipsis praesto esse. Ieiuniis et vigiliis ad necem ferme sese excarnificavit. Tandem et illud vitae genus locumque deserens, ad montem Antiochiae, qui Niger dicitur, profectus, monasticum vitae genus ibi suscepit, ubi etiam tandem mortuus est. Gerhardus a Nazareth capite 12. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1605)

(from chapter 13)

Ecclesia Baptismatis lavacro mundatos, mox albis induere solet. Gerhardus a Nazareth de Conversatione servorum Christi, cap. 13. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 875)

(from chapter 14)

Sigerius abbas Carrariae fuit. Gerard. a Nazar. cap. 14. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1607)

(from chapter 17)

Bernhardus Blesensis, vir eloquens et zelo iustitiae fervidus, verum non secundum scientiam, cum aliis quibusdam, inter quos nominatur Robertus de Ierosolymis, priorem sibi constituerunt apud Iubinum. Leges in quas iuravit, hae sunt: Ut alienas divitias suscipere strenue re-

September 1188, Conrad of Montferrat laments that "Muri Jerusalem viduati sunt de heremitis habitatoribus suis": Delaville, *Cartulaire*, I, 531, no. 858.

cusarent. Si quis nobilium aliquot ipsis Bisantios offerret, ut tantum tribus contenti, caeteros renuerent. In primis vero hic Bernhardus suasor extitit, ut stricte inciperent, fore enim ut posterius remissius agerent. Gerardus a Nazareth capite 17. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1605)

(from chapter 18)

Iubinensis coenobii monachi modum vivendi tam sublimem assumpserunt, ut non solum carne et sanguine penitus abstinerent, sed et ovis ac lacte, tribusque hebdomadae diebus solo pane et aqua vescerentur. Reliquis diebus olera cocta seu legumina sumere licitum erat. Piscibus raro, vino rarissime utebantur. Sua cuique cellula. Gerhardus a Nazareth de Conversatione servorum Dei, capite 18. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 979)

(from chapter 19)

Prior Iubinensis de rigore monastico nonnihil remittens, oblata dona, ut pecuniam, pastellos, dulcia vina, et similia, non superstitiose fastidiebat. Sed Bernhardus Blesensis et reliqui hypocritae, duriter priorem reprehendunt aliquoties. Cum vero nihil obtinerent, impatienti animo Bernhardus saepius velut oestro concitus, in sylvas excurrit, potius fame periturus, quam rem tam infandam, ut ipse quidem habebat, inspecturus: ac reprehendit istam Bernhardi insaniam etiam Gerardus a Nazareth. Tandem Hierosolymam currit, ibi quoque sua austeritate Balduinum regem secundum nonnihil reformans. Impetrata deinceps a patriarcha potestate discedendi ab illis monachis, qui dona acciperent, dulcesque vinum (proh scelus) non aspernarentur, in Machanath propinquum monasterium illi fatui, qui nolebant dulcia vina bibere, divertunt. Sed postea Blesensis redit ad Iubinum coenobium, quod proculdubio istorum persecutionibus factum erat vacuum. Gerardus a Nazareth cap. 19. de Conversione (*sic*) quorundam servorum Dei.

(*Centuria XII*, chap. 8, col. 1230)

*The above summary appears under the rubric: Schisma monasticum in Iubiniensi coenobio. Another recapitulation of the same chapter appears in continuation of the summary of chapter 17, which deals with Bernard of Blois; unlike the above summary, it is not antagonistic to him at all:*

Cumque haec inter illos non essent diuturna, omniaque prior, quae offerebantur ad se, reciperet, aegre hoc tulit Bernhardus, ita etiam ut non ad iurgia solum deveniretur saepenumero, sed etiam sibi non diutius ibi commorandum existimaret. Idem cap. 19.

Regem Hierosolymorum Balduinum 2 palam insectatus est propter quaedam vitia enormia: quod in eo multi laudarunt. Tandem cum aliis quibusdam absolutus a prioris obedientia, consensu Bernhardi Antiocheni patriarchae<sup>2</sup> monasterium Machanath, in eodem monte situm, ingreditur, et cuiusdam legati pontificii iussu ibi factus est prior. Idem capite decimonono. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1605–6)

(from chapter 20)

Quotidie solitus est [= Bernhardus Blesensis] sese no-

dosa scutica flagellare, honorem scilicet proprio corpori habens. cap. 20.

Daemonium conatus est ejicere homo stolidus, flagris immanissime caedendo obsessum. capite vigesimo.

(*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

Ad monachum quendam novitium a diabolo obsessum, aqua benedicta, crux et corpus Dominicum adferuntur: verum diabolo recedere detrectante, frater ille scutica caeditur (nota modum) sicque tandem liberatur. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 20 de Conversatione servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 910)

Balduinum regem a Turcis captum visitavit Caesarea,<sup>3</sup> et coram tyranno Turcico totaque eius aula de fide Christiana disseruit. Quod cum rex Turcicus aegerrime ferret, dixit porro: Etiam si eam lanceam cordi meo infingeres, nihilominus tibi veritatem dicturus essem. Ibidem [= cap. 20].

Ad extremum, cum aliquando in genua provolutus oraret, animam exhalavit. capite vigesimo. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

from chapter 21)

Porphyrius Bernhardo in monasterio Machanath successit. Is facie exili fuit, voce submissa: nudo capite et pedibus, et his quidem non lotis, sed subinde sordidis incessit. Tunica usus est cilicina, et cucullo candido sine manticis. cap 21. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 22)

Ursus illusionem quadam diabolicam persuasus, Iubini monasterii monachus factus, ita assiduo labore manus attriverat, ut aliud nihil agere valeret. Sacco indutus fuit vilissimo. Nonnunquam sacristae, interdum pistoris officio functus est. Sermone fuit modico contentus, et cibo perexiguo. Ut illud vitae genus suscipere, hac factum est occasione: Cum aliquando variis exerceret cogitationibus, montis Nigri loca asperiora et remotiora accessit, seque ipsum flagris caedens, continue exclamavit: Domine Deus, inspira et ostende mihi viam in qua ambulem, ubi et qualiter tibi magis placeat ut vivam: Domina mea sancta Maria consule mihi. Atque tunc ipsi dictum fuit, ut Iubinum accederet monasterium: in quo postea proposito confirmatus est a Bernhardo Blesensi, ita ut nunquam se inde discessurum noveret. cap. 22.

(*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1607)

(from chapter 25)

Guilhelmus nobili ortus stemmate, et miles, monachus Machanath factus est: qui caeteris metentibus segetes, ex lacte coagulato caseos premere tentavit, imitaturus bubulcam: sed omnino frustra, ita ut oleum et operam perderet: unde Caseatori ipsi nomen inditum est. cap. 25.

(*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 26)

Vuilhelmo Machariatensi [sic] monacho animam efflante, pater monasterii per somnum vidit, a latere suo

<sup>2</sup>Bernard of Valence, patriarch of Antioch in the years 1100–1135.

<sup>3</sup>During most of his captivity, Baldwin II was kept at *Cartapeta* (Kharput): Fulcher, *Historia*, III.24,26, ed. Hagenmeyer, 684, 687, 690.

stellam in coelum tolli. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 26 de Conversatione servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 13, col. 1753)

Hugo transalpinus, qui militiae gratia terram Sanctam, mari traiecit, accesserat, sub Balduino primo<sup>4</sup> primum Iubini, deinde in Machanath factus est monachus. Is gravi morbo correptus, monachis carnes offerentibus, neque iusculum neque carnes gustare voluit. In continua invocatione D. Virginis ad extremum animam exhalavit. Cum funus ei fieret, omnes qui advenerant, illusionem diabolica mire suavem olfecerunt odorem, ex quo nonnulli sese recreatos dicerent. cap. 26. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 28)

Gualterus monachus Machanath, patiens inediae, vigiliarum et frigoris fuit, nudis incedens pedibus, in asperissimo dormiens cilicio. Pulmentis et vino rarissime usus est. Nonnunquam diem sine cibo, et noctem sine somno duxit. Dormiens solitus est Psalmos deblaterare. Flagellando seipsum et flectendo genua, peccata voluit expiare. Idem cap. 28. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 33)

Is [= Haymericus Lemovicensis]<sup>5</sup> sedulus vitae monasticae promotor fuit, ut Gerardus a Nazareth testatur. Legem tulit, ne quis in monte Nigro sine maiore inspectore viveret solitarius. Gerardus capite 33. de Conversat. servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1373)

(from chapter 34)

Valerius Burgundus miles, ex patria peregrinatus Ierosolymam est: relictis paulo post Ierosolyma, Iubinum migrat, seseque vitae monasticae ibi mancipat. Cumque nondum satis pro acquirenda animae suae salute hoc videretur, locum asperissimum, et inde longissime remotum elegit, ubi annis 12 eremitam egit. Bis terve ad eum presbyter e Iubino venit, Missam celebrans, et sacramentum Coenae Domini illi distribuens. Ad extremum, cum aliquandiu a duobus Armeniis pastoribus male esset multatus, qui aurum se apud ipsum inventuros suspicabantur, Iubinum revertitur, et post menses duos vel tres animam exhalat. Idem de Conversatione servorum Dei, cap. 34. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1607)

(from chapter 35)

Iohannes monachus Hierosolymitanus mirae fuit abstinentiae, ita ut tribus in hebdomada diebus omnino nihil cibi caperet. Aliquamdiu desertum montis Nigri monasterium incoluit: sed penuria panis adductus, Ierosolymam inde reversus est. Gerard. a Nazareth cap. 35. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1603)

Hugo prior Machanath tribus diebus in hebdomada toto tempore Quadragesimae penitus a cibo abstinuit. capite trigesimoquinto. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

<sup>4</sup>Baldwin I, 1100–1118. If the Centuriators' punctuation transmits Gerard's intention accurately, it would follow that Jubin was founded before 1118.

<sup>5</sup>Aimery of Limoges, patriarch of Antioch in the years 1140–1193.

(from chapters 36–37)

Radulphus laicus peregrinatus fuerat Ierosolymam. Domum vero rediturus a piratis captus, omnibus rebus spoliatus est. Reversus itaque ad terram Sanctam, factus est opilio. Pascens greges secum oraturus, quod subinde solitus est facere, semper erexit crucem ligneam, eamque aspexit. Deserens postea pedum pastorale, monasterio Carrariensi se mancipavit: inde iterum aufugiens, desertum repetiit. Omnibus is diebus ieiunavit, exceptis Dominicis et festis: ter pane et aqua in hebdomada fuit contentus. Ova et lac nunquam, pisces raro edit. Nudus fuit pedes: ut nunquam febribus careret, a Deo postulaverat, quod et impetravit. Bernhardo Blesensi admodum extitit charus et familiaris, qui eius consilio interdum usus est, eo quod fatidicus propheta haberetur. Tandem Imperatore Constantinopolitano obsidente Antiochiam, discessit Tripolim, ubi vitam finivit anno 1142,<sup>6</sup> recitando hunc versiculum: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis suae*.<sup>7</sup> Ad eius sepulchrum postea multis donata sanitas dicitur. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 36 et 37. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1608)

Fertur, ad sepulchrum Ranulphi eremite, qui Tripoli obiit, temporibus Emanuelis Constantinopolitani Imperatoris, multis redditam fuisse sospitatem. Idem cap. 47.<sup>8</sup> (*Centuria XII*, chap. 13, col. 1753)

(from chapter 37)

Henricus eremita in valle sancti Nicolai prope Antiochiam in monte Nigro vixit, ubi tugurium sibi fabricatus est, ut ab hominum consortio quam longissime esset remotus. Nemini penitus quicquam est locutus: sed nuntiis tantum quid vellet significavit homo stolidus. Nihil occisum edit, nec ova quidem: lacte tamen usus est recenti. Caput illotum et inpexum fuit, pedes nudi, cruraque, saepe etiam totum corpus. Idem cap. 37. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1604)

(from chapter 39)

Iohannes monachus Carrariae, patria Lucensis, narrare solitus est, quo pacto solus inter densas arbores montis Thabor ad aquae rivulum sederit, et ex improvise hominem nudum, veteri panno obsitum, macilentum, et solis aestu fuscum conspexerit. Quem cum multis precibus et obsecrationibus ad colloquium invitasset, tandem percontatus est, quis et cuius esset? Respondit ille, Christianum se esse, et horrida incolere nemora, ab eo tempore quo Latini cepissent Antiochiam, conspectumque hominum fugere. Cumque percepisset, adhuc eam in Latinorum esse potestate, elevatis manibus in coelum, Deo

<sup>6</sup>John Comnenus besieged Antioch in 1137, and in 1142 his soldiery pillaged the city's neighborhood. Radulph may have left the region of Antioch during the siege of 1137 and died in Tripoli in 1142; possibly both events took place in 1142.

<sup>7</sup>Luke 1:68.

<sup>8</sup>An obvious error for "cap. 37," as Radulph and Ranulph are evidently identical. The reference to Manuel Comnenus, who became emperor in 1143, conflicts with the above statement that the hermit died in 1142. Whether the mistake goes back to the Centuriators or to Gerard himself must remain an open question.



gratias egit, oblatam vestem et panem detrectavit, seque ad sua latibula iterum recepit. Idem cap. 39. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1607–8).

B. *Ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam*

Bethaniam incolentibus monialibus Gerhardus a Nazareth inscripsit sermonem quendam in octava Paschae. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 2, col. 11)

C. *Vita abbatis Eliae*

Elias Grammatices praeceptor in Gallia Narbonensi, isti muneri abdicavit, et quorundam suorum familiarium consilio Hierosolymam petiit sub Fulcone rege,<sup>9</sup> ut ibi loca nativitatis, passionis et resurrectionis Domini lustraret. In itinere ad quoddam eremitarum monasterium divertens, presbyteri ordinem ibi suscepit. Ea vero quum vidisset loca, quorum causa venerat, sese in vasta quadam spelunca prope Ierosolymam una cum suis abdidit. Ubi cum aliquandiu delituisset, monachorum qui vallem Iosaphat incolebant, continuis precibus, et hortatu patriarchae Ierosolymitani victus, istorum se congregationi adiunxit.

Isthinc iterum avocatus, abbas constitutus est cuiusdam monasterii, quod Palmaria dicitur, non procul a Tiberiade, et ab archiepiscopo Nazareno ordinatus est. Inde rursus exemptus a Fulconis regis coniuge, Ierosolymam petit: ubi cum annos paucos delituisset, ad priorem semdem hortatu Nazareni archiepiscopi revertitur.

Ab eo tempore quo primum factus est eremita, carne, vino, ovis et caseo penitus abstinuit. Quotidie, exceptis Dominicis et festis diebus, ieiunavit. Legumina semicruda sine pane cum gaudio sumpsit. Piscibus vero usus est. Vestitus sordidus, pediculis affluens. Lectioni assidue intentus fuit. Inter suos se neque abbatem, neque priorem, praesertim cum in spelunca prope Ierosolymam lateret, nominari passus est. In scripturarum locis, quae aliquid obscuritatis habere videbantur, suorum discipulorum studiose inquisivit sententias.

Sine omni necessitate se periculis objicere voluit, nisi a suis fuisset dehortatus. Nam in Galliis adhuc degens, Hispaniam ingredi statuit, ut Saracenis ibidem fidem Christianam praedicaret. Eodem modo suis autor fuit, ut secum Ascalonem iter facerent, et sese captivos statuerent, ut totidem numero Christianos captivitate liberarent. Sed quia sociorum consiliis facile acquievit, apparet hoc omnino fictum simulatumque in ipso fuisse. Pecuniam oblatam respuit. Seipsum solitus est flagellare, ut profusis lachrymis diu lugeret, si quando hallucinaretur etiam in re vilissima. Vigiliis nocturnis tantopere sese afflixit, ut ad mensam sedens obdormisceret saepe, et panis buccella ori ingesta rursus excideret. Habitum et mores monachorum Cistercensium unice adamavit, ita ut suorum unum mitteret Hierosolyma in Gallias, pro adducendo eius ordinis monacho, ex quo omnia quae ad eam sectam pertinerent, addiscere posset. Eamque etiam ob causam suis in Tiberiadis coenobio monachis hortator fuit, ut tali cucullo uterentur. Quod cum illis persuadere

non posset (est enim locus ille alioquin ad Iordanem supra modum calidus, ut eiusmodi habitum detrectarent) illos deserere animum induxit: utque eo onere sublevaretur, Ierosolymitanum patriarcham et Nazarenum archiepiscopum precibus fatigavit. De ambitione solitus est dicere, omnia vitia divino auxilio superari posse, unicum hoc illis sese insinuare, qui sanctius prae aliis vivere studerent, et ita quidem ut vix deprehendi possit. Egenis liberaliter dedit, ita ut sinistra manus nesciret quid faceret dextra. Ad extremum anno 1140, praesentibus quibusdam de Ierosolymis monachis, transiit ad maiores suos, qui etiam illi funus fecerunt. Caeterum quamvis rigidissime vitam egit, continuam tamen in corde dubitationem circumtulit, haec secum subinde meditans: *Terribilis Deus in consiliis super filios hominum*.<sup>10</sup> Item: *Nescit homo an amore vel odio dignus sit*.<sup>11</sup> Gerhardus a Nazareth in vita eius. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1608–9)

Gaufredus claruit circiter annum 1140 in monte Thabor, familiaris Eliae abbati, qui Gerardo a Nazareth eiusdem amicitiam conciliavit. In vita Eliae. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1603)

D. *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*

Graeci nonnulli affirmarunt, Mariam Lazari sororem, non fuisse eam quae dicta est Magdalena. Contra Latini asseruerunt, eam fuisse illam ipsam Mariam Magdalenam, et non aliam.

Hac de re Gerardus a Nazareth episcopus Laodicensis tractatum scripsit atque edidit, in quo asseverat, Mariam Magdalenam unam tantum esse foeminam in Evangelica historia, et eam quidem esse sororem Lazari. idque probat his rationibus:

1. Quia si Maria Magdalena non esset soror Marthae, ab Evangelistis distingueretur accuratius, sicut Iudas alter ab Iscariote discernitur. Brevitatis autem gratia, et quia notatum fuit, cognominis non semper fit mentio.

2. Quia soror Marthae semper pene circa pedes Christi versatur, ut testatur historia: pedes Christi rigat et ungit, resuscitato Christo ad pedes se demittit, eum tatura. Vel ex hac, inquit, nota cognosci Maria Magdalena satis potest.

3. Idem Ambrosius sentit, cum inquit: Quis unquam cognoscere potuit, quanta virtutum itinera duxerit, haud dubium quin Dominus, *dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccant in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum quadrimum resuscitat Lazarum*?<sup>12</sup> His verbis innuit, sororem Lazari Mariam illam esse, quam Marcus Magdalenam nominans, septem daemonia dicit habuisse. Quamvis ille pater, quod et ipse Gerardus annotat, dubitat, an plures Mariae Magdalenae eiusdem nominis

<sup>10</sup> Psalms 65:5.

<sup>11</sup> Ecclesiastes 9:1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Sermo de Salomone*, PL, 17, col. 721D: "... dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccant in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum corpus redivivi spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro." A. C. Vega argues persuasively that this tractate was written by Gregory of Elvira: "Nuevos tratados de Elvira," *España sagrada*, 56 (Madrid, 1957), 36–55. Migne's text is reproduced on pp. 57–64, with the relevant passage appearing on p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Fulk of Anjou, 1131–1143.

fuerint.<sup>13</sup> Sed Augustinus contra sentit, unicam fuisse Mariam Magdalenam: quam sententiam una cum omni pene Latinorum Ecclesia autor ait se complecti.

4. Narratio Iohannis idipsum testatur: "*Erat,*" inquit, "*quidam languens Lazarus a Bethania, de castello Mariae et Marthae sororis eius. Maria autem erat, quae unxit Dominum unguento, et extersit pedes eius capillis suis.*"<sup>14</sup> Hoc dicens Iohannes attestatur Lucae, qui hoc in domo pharisei Simonis factum esset (sic) narravit. Iam itaque hoc Maria fecerat. Quod autem in Bethania rursum fecit, aliud est, quod ad Lucae narrationem non pertinet, sed pariter narratur a tribus aliis Evangelistis. Quod ergo Matthaeus et Marcus caput Domini perfusum unguento illo dicunt, Iohannes autem pedes: non solum caput sed et pedes Domini accipimus perfudisse mulierem, et prius pedes. A capite quippe nobis ordinate consuli agnoscimus: sed ordinate etiam nos a pedibus ad caput ascendimus.<sup>15</sup>

5. Hieronymi sententiam concordat Gerardus cum Augustini, quia reprehendat Hieronymus eos qui duas Marias Magdalenas ponunt. ac tandem sic ratiocinatur: Cum ergo iuxta fidem Evangeliorum, quatuor fuisse Marias tantummodo asserat, necesse est ut soror Lazari, quia etiam ipsa Maria vocatur, earum una sit. Aut itaque soror Lazari erit ea quae Magdalena cognominatur, aut quaelibet trium reliquarum. Sed nullam earum sororem Lazari fuisse, aliquis doctor exposuit. Matrem quippe Domini, aut eius materteras, nemo unquam probare poterit sorores Lazari fuisse. Non solum enim Maria Cleophae, sed et Maria Iacobi, ut fertur, Domini matertera fuit. Restat igitur, ut Maria Magdalena soror Lazari fuisse credatur, aut Hieronymo, quatuor tantummodo Marias fuisse dicenti, contradicatur.

6. Gregorius in Homiliis inquit: *Quam Lucas peccatricem mulierem, Iohannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus, de qua Marcus septem daemonia eiecta fuisse testatur.*<sup>16</sup> Dicat adhuc apertius, *Maria Magdalena, quae fuerat in civitate peccatrix, amando veritatem, lavit lachrymis maculas criminis, etiam vox veritatis impletur, qua dicitur: "Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa, quia dilexit multum."* Nam venit ad monumentum, etc.<sup>17</sup>

7. Beda ait: *Primo apparuit Dominus Mariae Magdalenae flenti ad monumentum: postea etiam eidem et alii Mariae, regredientibus nunciare discipulis.*<sup>18</sup> Item idem: non dubitandum, quin ipsa sit mulier, quae, sicut Lucas refert, quondam peccatrix ad Dominum cum alabastro venit unguenti. Eadem est ergo mulier: sed ibi pedes solummodo Domini prona ungebant. Hic autem et pedes ungere, et ad caput quoque ungendum

se non dubitavit erigere.<sup>19</sup> Idem ait Anselmum adstruere.<sup>20</sup>

8. Latinitas novit unam, unius festum colit.

Obiectiones sic diluit: Primum, si soror Lazari Maria diceretur Magdalena, hoc cognomine ab Evangelista Luca vel Iohanne designaretur soror Marthae. R[esponsio]. Non est sufficiens probatio, quia nec Marthae agnomen exprimitur. Deinde fuit mulier nota, ut non semper necesse fuerit cognomen addere. Praeterea utitur inversione: Quia, inquit, non distinguitur, itaque eadem est.

Secunda obiectio a nomine: Magdalena a Magdalo appellatur. Sed Maria soror Lazari habitabat Bethaniae. R. Infirmam esse probationem hanc: quia potuit alibi nasci, et alibi habitare.

Tertia obiectio: Ambrosius duas Magdalenas videtur asserere. R. Augustinus dissentit. Praeterea Ambrosius per Fortasse dubiam ponit sententiam: *Si plures*, inquit, *Mariae, plures fortasse et mulieres.*<sup>21</sup>

Quarta obiectio: Hieronymus dissentit. R. Posset conciliari Hieronymus, non eandem secundum immutationem vitae, eandem vero secundum identitatem personae dixisse. Sed in ultimo libro contra Iovianum (sic) duas ponit.<sup>22</sup> Verum ipse Hieronymus se declarat in epistola ad quaestiones Edibiae: *Maria Magdalena, inquit, sola et cum altera sive cum aliis mulieribus memor beneficiorum, quae in se Dominus contulerat, ad sepulchrum eius frequenter cucurrit: et nunc adoravit quem videbat, tunc flevit quem quaerebat absentem. Licet quidam duas Marias Magdalenas ex eodem vico Magdalo fuisse contendat, et alteram eam esse, quae in Matthaeo eum vidit resurgentem, alteram quae in Iohanne eum quaerebat absentem. Quatuor autem fuisse Marias, in Evangelistis legimus. Unam matrem Domini Salvatoris, alteram materteram eius, quae appellata sit Maria Cleophae; tertiam Mariam, matrem Iacobi et Ioseph: quartam Mariam Magdalenam.*<sup>23</sup> Ergo consentit Augustino, et in sequentibus duas Magdalenas asserentium sententiam reprobat.

Quinta obiectio: Origenes dissentit. R. Praeferimus Origeni Ambrosium et Augustinum. Rectissime autem Gerardus inquit: Non est in hac re valde perniciosus error, unde et aliter atque aliter credi sine magno periculo potest. Bonum tamen est, si fieri potest, ut non modo de hac, sed et de omni controversia quod verius est, vel verisimilius, hoc teneatur. Gerardus a Nazareth in tractatu de Maria Magdalena. (Centuria XII, chap. 8, cols. 1230-33)

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., II.4, 209-10.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Anselm of Canterbury, *Oratio ad Mariam Magdalenam*, PL, 158, cols. 1010-12; Anselm of Laon, *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*, PL, 162, cols. 1466-67.

<sup>21</sup>"Ergo si plures Mariae, plures fortasse etiam Magdalенаe." Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, X.153, ed. M. Adriaen, CChr, 14 (Turnhout, 1957), 389-90.

<sup>22</sup>Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, II.29, PL, 23, col. 340BC.

<sup>23</sup>Jerome, *Epistola 120 (Ad Hedybiam)*, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL, 55 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), 483 (slight changes in wording). It is noteworthy that Jerome's view on the four Marys, as expressed in the *Epistola ad Hedybiam*, is also quoted in a manuscript which once belonged to the church of Sidon: Vat. lat. 1345, fol. 29<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup>See note 21 *infra*.

<sup>14</sup>John 11:1-2.

<sup>15</sup>Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, II.79, ed. F. Wehrich, CSEL, 43 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1904), 261-63 (here considerably abbreviated).

<sup>16</sup>Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, II.33, PL, 76, col. 1239C. The allusions are to Luke 7:37, John 11:2, and Mark 16:9.

<sup>17</sup>*Homiliae in Evangelia*, II.25, PL, 76, col. 1189B (here slightly abridged). The quotation is from Luke 7:47.

<sup>18</sup>Bede, *Homelia Evangelii*, II.8, ed. D. Hurst, CChr, 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 237 (here slightly abridged).

E. *Contra Salam presbyterum*

Hanc sententiam [de Maria Magdalena] postea defendit Gerardus peculiari libello contra Salam presbyterum: qui Laodiceam veniens, inspectoque tractatu Gerardi, insigni fastu refutationem ebuccinavit. Sed cum esset indoctus et insulsus, iactaretque sesquipedalia verba, quae inepte proferebat: ideo Gerardus literatior, et tersiori lingua praeditus, illum Salam, nihil salis eruditi habentem, egregie depectit, positis primum Salae verbis, deinde sua refutatione. Pauca tantum verba Gerardi de Salae scripto annotabimus. Sic inquit: Cum huius Salae scripta legere me cogit necessitas, videor mihi quasi picem vel aliquid glutinosum impeditis dentibus mandendo trans-

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Job 6:6: "Aut poterit comedi insulsum, quod non est sale conditum?"

glutire vix posse. Nam ut in Iob legitur: Nunquid insulsum edi potest, *quod non est sale conditum*?<sup>24</sup> Libro titulus inscriptus est: Defensio Gerardi Laodicensis episcopi contra Salam presbyterum. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 8, col. 1233)

Sala presbyter iamdudum dedicare coemiteria praesumpsit, quod episcopalis est dignitatis: ut Gerhardus de Nazareth in defensione contra Salam presbyterum scribit. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 923)

Sala presbyter fuit, contra quem pugnavit Gerardus a Nazareth, objiciens illi, quod coemiterium dedicare praesumpserit, cum illud sit tamen episcoporum. Item quod Graecum episcopum contra Latinum in civitatem introduxerit. Gerard. a Nazareth in defensione contra Salam. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1380)